FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 25 1964

TELETYPE

9-19 AM 9-25-64 MSL

TO NEW YORK --5--, ATTENTION MR. [redacted]

b6
b7C

FROM DIRECTOR

SOLO

IS-C

TSI FOLLOWING IS ENCRYPTION OF MESSAGE RECEIVED FROM NEW YORK THIS DATE.

07859-26363-00725-73560-46825--31574-29093-10541-62028-33715

20123-11847-67107-43650-29131--34499-12098-71697-03970-57419

33348-87769-94167-42467-27661--97493-77147-73426-09555-52268

16281-57110-11849-43390-40634--49049-18148-69774-06619-36170

90678-13231-57603-30809-68241--91241-14797-78861-99085-75574

REC- 31 100-428091-4196

27333-23684-23262-07072-57375

6 OCT 7 1964

EX 109

FIRST KEY GROUP - 07859, LAST KEY GROUP - 79597

END

NY JLW

FBI NEW YORK 5 OCT 9 1964

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 5 1964

TELETYPE

T

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

2-28 PM NH

TO NEW YORK /5/ ATTENTION MR. [redacted]

b6
b7C

FROM DIERCTOR

SOLO

IS-C

FOLLOWING MESSAGE RECEIVED THIS DATE.

NR 193 GR 23

THERE IS NO PLAN TO POSTPONE LANES KEN WHICH IS TO START IN HOTEL ON DECEMBER ONE FIVE.

FIRST KEY GROUP ONE ZERO NINE TWO NINE. LAST KEY GROUP FIVE FOUR THREE SEVEN SEVEN.

END

JLW

FBI NEW YORK

REC- 31 100-428091-419

6 OCT 7 1964

EX 109

65 OCT 9 1964

SAC, Chicago (134-46 sub B) 10/6/64

Director, FBI (100-428091) 1 - Mr. Shaw

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Reurlet 9/15/64.

Relet enclosed a copy of an article in the Russian language authored by Timur Timofeev, Deputy Director of the Soviet Institute for World Economy and International Affairs. The article entitled "A Real and Imaginary Struggle Against Imperialism" appeared in the August, 1964, issue of the "Kommunist," official theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Bureau was requested to furnish your office a translation of this article.

Pursuant to your request there is attached the original and one copy of the requested translation.

Enclosures (2)

WGS:pah
(4)

REC- 31 100-428091-4198

EX 109

6 OCT 7 1964

NOTE:

Timur Timofeev is the son of Eugene Dennis, deceased former General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA. His article deals with the Sino-Soviet dispute and is critical of the Chinese whom Timofeev claims are striving to force upon the international communist movement an anti-Leninist approach to the struggle against "international imperialist reaction headed by American imperialism."

MAILED 2
OCT 5 - 1964
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

ENCLOSURE

FBI - JUSTICE
DEC.D - SULLIVAN

OCT 2 11 15 AM '64

65 OCT 9 1964

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

A REAL AND IMAGINARY STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

In connection with an article published in the newspaper, "AKAKHATA"

By T. Timofeev

The Marxist-Leninist parties, determining strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialistic struggle, originate from class and scientifically based positions; they strictly adhere to coordinated resolutions and evaluations in regard to these questions formed in the Declarations of 1957 and of 1960. They made the most practical plans under contemporary conditions against international imperialist reaction and against its backbone, the American imperialists. The important factor in the struggle against imperialism is that communists should not be limited by verbal criticism of it, but they should strengthen the revolutionary forces, their unity and solidarity in every way for the actual struggle with it.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and their adherents strive to force upon the international communist movement a different, unscientific and anti-Leninist approach to these important questions. Lately, they have published many "theoretical" materials, in which they attempt to establish their own position, which is a flagrant contradiction to the resolutions of the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960.

TRANSLATED BY: [redacted]eah

b6
b7C

September 30, 1964

100-[illegible]-4198

A long article, "Kennedy and American Imperialism," published by the newspaper, "Akakhata," and signed, "The Observer," contains such material. The foreign policy of the USSR and its general line of the international communist movement is subjected to criticism in this article.

The Essence of the Question should not be Misinterpreted

In the article, "Kennedy and American Imperialism," fraternal communist parties are accused without any proof that they allegedly "attempted to get away from American capitalism," and that some tendency for praising the American imperialism has been noticed in the international movement for peace and in the international communist movement.

Origin of such slanderous and absurd assertions is sufficiently known. A year before these "discoveries" of the newspaper, "Akakhata," the Chinese newspaper, "Jen Min Jih Pao," stated in its March, 1963 issue: "It is quite clear that principal differences exist on the questions as to how to evaluate American imperialism, which is the most bitter enemy of the peoples of the globe, and how to approach it."

However, the authors of these articles simply misinterpret the essence of this question. The real essence of the contradiction is not the problem as to whether to conduct the struggle against American imperialism. Communists of all countries do not ask as to whether to conduct a struggle against international imperialism headed by the U. S. A. Of course, the "observer" of "Akakhata," and the editors of "Jen Min Jih Pao" know this very well. As to the C. P. S. U., it is in full agreement with the resolutions of the Declarations of 1957 and 1960, and is guided in its policy by the factor, according to which the U. S. A. is the economical, political and military center of imperialism; and that

monopolistic capital of the U. S. A. has become the most important exploiter of the world; that American imperialism is the backbone of international reaction, and that it is a world gendarme. N. S. Khrushchev pointed out in his speech of August 16, 1964, in the Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic;

> "The accuracy of such an evaluation of the role of American imperialism given in the documents of the meetings of the communist and workers' parties clearly confirm the events in South-East Asia, and especially in Tonkin Bay. Acting openly like a gendarme, the United States made an attack against the Vietnam Democratic Republic. It (the U. S. A.) is conducting an undeclared war against the people of South Vietnam, thereby stifling these people. American imperialism is interfering in the internal affairs of Laos..."

It is generally known that the USSR, pursuing an active, flexible and peaceful foreign policy, and striving for easing international tension, is facilitating the isolation of the more aggressive circles of imperialism, and first of all, of American imperialism. The Soviet Union had repulsed and is repulsing decisively all aggressive intentions of the U. S. A. against Revolutionary Cuba. The USSR has sharply criticized the intrigues of the imperialists at Cyprus. According to the statement of a representative of the Government of the Democratic Vietnamese Republic, the firm and principal position of the Soviet Union in connection with the recent provocative actions of the U. S. A. in Tonkin Bay is "a most important contribution to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against aggression of the United States."

The effective struggle of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries against imperialism is developing in many forms: in the field of the economic competition of the two systems; at the international, diplomatic and ideological fronts; it is manifested by active support of the struggle of the working people in other countries; in the anti-imperialistic and national democratic revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The striving today not in words but by actions against world imperialism headed by the U. S. A. means, first, supporting the economic and defensive power of the socialist countries and a successful building of a new society. This means that the solidarity of all revolutionary and communist forces of our time should be strengthened.

Such is the Lenin course of the C. P., S. U., which is supported and approved by the absolute majority of the fraternal parties. But the leaders of the Communist Party of China and their few followers take up arms completely against the Lenin course. Clearly following their fractional and narrowly-national goals, they make efforts to compare the successes of the USSR to the interests of the revolutionary, anti-imperialistic struggle of workers of other countries. But is it not clear that similar attempts to minimize the role of the tense and thorough struggle, which is being conducted by the world forces against imperialism, in reality, means capitulation to imperialism! This position of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and their adherents, in essence, reflects their disbelief in the final victory of socialism over capitalism.

In reality, it is not so much "evaluation" of American imperialism as a different approach to the radical questions of contemporary world development, including the problems of war and peace; to the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary workers' movement in the capitalist countries, and to cooperation of all modern revolutionary forces, that constitute the dividing line between the leaders of the Communist Party of China and their few followers, and the Marxist-Leninists of the world. The Peking statesmen and their adherents at the editorial office of "Akakhata" differed from the coordinated general line of the international communist movement on all these problems.

Inaccurate interpretation of American imperialism, of its role in the contemporary world, and of the methods of struggle against it, are only some of the manifestations of their common erroneous position, which replaces the Lenin line of the vicious conception in the spirit of neo-Trotskyism.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106-03

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 10/5/64

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

CG 5824-S* on October 2, 1964, advised that the Volume 7, #9 issue of the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement which is published in Prague, Czechoslovakia, for the month of September, 1964, contains an article on pages 64-67 entitled, "The Goldwater Peril" by J. THOMAS. Source advised that he knows of no J. THOMAS in the CP, USA nor does he know of the preparation of such an article by anyone connected with the CP, USA. Source then went on to state that in his opinion J. THOMAS is a fiction and that the article was probably, in fact, authored by the Editorial Board of the "World Marxist Review" and that NORMAN FREED, CP of Canada representative, probably took the lead in the article's preparation. Source noted that there may have been consultation with some representative of the CP, USA since numerous individuals are now traveling abroad; however, specifically who may have been consulted is unknown to CG 5824-S*.

1813RB

(2)-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Info)(RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
(4)

REC-26 100-428091-4199

EX-114 6 OCT 7 1964

65 OCT 9 1964

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 6, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On 10/6/64, the New York Office furnished the text of a message the informant desired to send and requested that it be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished New York on the same date.

The plain text is set forth below. The cipher text is attached.

REGARDING YOUR QUESTION OF MISSING GAMMAS, PAGE 23, LINES 29 TO 40, PAGE 24, LINES 01 TO 02. I RECALL A MESSAGE WAS SENT BY BIRCH (Gus Hall) TO TUSK (Khrushchev) ON OCCASION OF HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY. THE TIME FACTORS PREVENTED US FROM TRANSMITTING MESSAGE THROUGH YOU. INSTEAD, PERSONAL SALUTATIONS WERE GIVEN TO TUSK (Khrushchev) VERBALLY. SPRING (Jack Brooks).

The message referred to is the subject of my memorandum to you 4/15/64.

GAMMAS are one-time cipher pad groups.

ACTION:
For information.

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

REC-65 100-428091-Y 2001

HS:blh
(8)

EX-130

6 OCT 8 1964

65 OCT 9 1964

10/6/64

09024 90578 28079 56095 06509 53248 65316 64139 85774 95157

99213 15136 28408 14705 66467 43753 46928 71152 85712 56882

75788 05081 77420 51017 21748 22868 99002 14802 13177 16703

92875 09790 42619 88153 55221 30137 65040 42785 81868 78505

40357 98219 16774 38159 32011 03752 96132 82393 58863 00426

19042 90602 32344 01753 32909 23281 00899 52896 00221 11819

81615 11762 27559 71218 79087 90177 60446 40722 50479 35377

09154 44518 67157 03775 43357 01821 92128 07195 72297 77183

93668 84502 18834 65867 23392 17206 60836 91664

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-4200

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 5, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/5/64, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time one message, NR 193 GR 23, was sent. This message was sent on scheduled frequencies but at times two hours later than scheduled. This time is equivalent to previously scheduled times.

The plain text is set forth below. The cipher text is attached.

NR 193 GR 23
THERE IS NO PLAN TO POSTPONE LANES (Communist Party) KEN (conference) WHICH IS TO START IN HOTEL (Moscow) ON DECEMBER 15.

The plain text was furnished to New York on the same date.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

REC 45 100-428091-4201

HS:mmg
(8)

6 OCT 8 1964

79 OCT 14 1964

10/5/64

NR 193 GR 23
10929 23651 77796 28988 73808 05267 70011 92775 81526 04488
52098 54341 71211 38895 20616 65319 85669 67382 90007 91659
62037 28877 54377

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 5, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On 10/5/64 the New York Office furnished the text of a message the informant desired to send and requested that it be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished New York on the same date.

The plain text is set forth below. The cipher text is attached.

HUB (Morris Childs) WILL TRAVEL IN NAME OF HAROLD M. JULES (repeat) HAROLD M. JULES. PLEASE HAVE BRIEFCASE (floating visa) FOR HIM IN CASHIERS (Embassy) HAMLET (Paris) OR VILLAGE (London). NOTIFY BEACH (Czechoslovakia) CASHIERS (Embassy) IN SAME PLACE.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

PWP:maa
OC(8)

REC 45 100-428091-4202

6 OCT 8 1964

79 OCT 14 1964

10/5/64

08230	28757	16956	66845	58544	53698	08933	76449	56207	37638
35551	23516	61573	41972	83789	01787	10344	43272	42465	11958
93701	49854	94409	60661	22055	43886	79431	78404	44357	59894
47936	15734	19697	53202	72658	16920	43398	58641	85657	61387

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/1/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

5- [illegible] (Nat)

Re my airtels 9/28 and 29/64, both relating to possible forthcoming Solo Mission, the 16th.

CG 5824-S* advised that prior to GUS HALL's departure from Chicago during the late p.m. of 9/29/64, he had advised CG 5824-S* that he would want to see him before CG 5824-S* left the country in case there were any last minute discussions or instructions that he should relay concerning matters CG 5824-S* was to take up while abroad. In order that CG 5824-S* could be aware of HALL's availability, HALL stated that prior to 10/19/64 he would be in New York City and that on the 19th he would be leaving New York for San Francisco, where he would spend a day or so before putting in his appearance in Hawaii on 10/21/64. HALL stated that he would be willing to see CG 5824-S* either in New York or San Francisco depending upon what CG 5824-S*'s departure plans might be.

In this final conversation on 9/29/64, HALL repeated that CG 5824-S* was to go at this time primarily for negotiations concerning the 1965 subsidy for the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA). HALL repeated the amount that the CPUSA should ask for as 1½ million dollars. HALL also indicated that it was important that CG 5824-S* be

(3) - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637)(RM)
1 - Chicago

RWH:bll
(5)

REC 45 100-428091-4203

OCT 8 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

79 OCT 14 1964

there (in the Soviet Union) prior to the departure of the large CPUSA delegation which has been selected to attend the November 7 celebration in Moscow.

As to the actual departure date, HALL left this matter entirely up to CG 5824-S*. In this connection, CG 5824-S* feels that he will probably have to commence his travel by mid-October, 1964, but that as yet he has not made any definite plans or been able to give this matter much consideration.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 10/5/64

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

ReBulet dated April 15, 1964, advising that the Central Intelligence Agency is interested in all material of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two photostat copies of "Trade Union Press," Number 15-16, August, 1964, an international bulletin published fortnightly by the World Federation of Trade Unions. This item was furnished on October 1, 1964, to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

EX 109

REC 45 100-428091-4204

6 OCT 8 1964

AGENCY CIA
10/7/64
10/65/Lms

1-6[illegible]
EXPLOSIVE

(2)-Bureau (Enc. 2)(RM)
1-Chicago

WAB:bll/MDW
(3)

1 enel to CIA

ENCLO. BEHIND FILE

79 OCT 14 1964

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/5/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies and for the New York Office one copy of an informant's statement captioned, "Information Regarding News and Feature Service Operated by John Pittman, San Francisco."

The information appearing in the enclosed informant's statement was furnished on 9/30/64 by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

3-Bureau (Enc. 3)(RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Enc.1)(Info)(RM)
2-Chicago
(1 - A)134-46 Sub B-8)

RWH:MDW
(6)

2 ENCLOSURE

REC 8

100-428091-4205

OCT 9 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 OCT 12 1964

INFORMATION REGARDING NEWS AND FEATURE SERVICE OPERATED BY JOHN PITTMAN, SAN FRANCISCO

On September 29, 1964, GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), provided a brief typewritten note dated September 15, 1964, which had been prepared by JOHN PITTMAN, San Francisco, and sent to HYMAN LUMER in New York. Set forth below is the verbatim text of this note:

"September 15, 1964

"Dear Hy,

"Your note received and we are happy to hear that you and Dorothy enjoyed your visit here. We were delighted to see you, even though your time was limited.

"We have all been saddened by the news about Ben and Elizabeth. Particularly the children, who know both and remembered them with affection.

"The manuscript I gave you was intended for Gus, with the verbal message that it -- the manuscript -- represented the inaugural issue of the news and feature service about which he and I spoke earlier this year. It took some time to get around to launching the project, primarily because I was preoccupied by the necessity of earning a living and acquiring the skill to do so. But now that the project is started, I shall keep it going in the hope that it may take hold. At the time of our conversation Gus indicated that he would pass the word along as to the worth of the project. The manuscript may help him arrive at a judgment as to its merit.

"As always, warm regards to Dorothy and to Betty.

"Yours,

/s/ "John

"John"

When Hall provided the foregoing item, he did it for the purpose of recommending that the news and feature service referred to therein and now operated by JOHN PITTMAN be among items that are discussed abroad during future contacts with representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

- 1 - ENCLOSURE 100-439191-4205

(CPSU) and other CPs. HALL indicated that by discussing this matter with such individuals and soliciting subscriptions from them, this could subsidize future publications and activities of PITTMAN.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106-05

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: October 2, 1964

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub F)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Re Bureau letter dated 5/4/60 and Chicago letter dated 9/8/64.

Referenced Bureau letter of May 4, 1960, instructed Chicago to set forth a monthly accounting of receipts and disbursements of Solo and reserve funds in possession of CG 5824-S*. Set forth below is such an accounting.

Balance of Funds in Possession of CG 5824-S* as of August 31, 1964

Solo Funds

Maintained in cash in safe deposit box, Mid-America National Bank, Chicago, Illinois.....$92,000.00

CP, USA Reserve Funds

Maintained in cash in safe deposit box, Michigan Avenue National Bank, Chicago, Illinois..... 11,546.32

Additions

Solo and/or CP, USA Reserve Funds

None.

Disbursements

100-428091-4206

REC 8 - FBI - JUSTICE - OCT 9 1964

Solo Funds

None.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - 100-134637
1 - 100-128861 (CP, USA - Reserve Funds)
1 - Chicago
RWH:bll
(5)

65 OCT 12 1964

CG 134-46 Sub F

CP, USA Reserve Funds

9/3-5/64	Reimbursement for purchase of books, gifts and other paraphernalia to be taken abroad and given to representatives of the CP of the Soviet Union.....$	125.00
9/17/64	Reimbursement for books purchased and mailed abroad.....	75.00
9/20/64	To HELEN WINTER, New York City, as payment for salary and expenses in connection with official Party work.....	200.00
9/22/64	Reimbursement for purchase of suitcase utilized to transport official CP, USA records from New York to Chicago.....	11.50
9/23/64	Reimbursement for shoes purchased and delivered to wife of GUS HALL, Yonkers, New York..	6.24
9/24-29/64	Expense for meals, entertainment, reading material and tips connected with six-day stay of GUS HALL, Chicago.....	85.00
9/26/64	To LOU DISKIN for payment to [redacted] in connection with expenses related to electronic device he was working on.....	54.00
9/26/64	Purchase price of topcoat, raincoat, trousers, shirts and other wearing apparel purchased by GUS HALL.....	182.00
9/27/64	Plane fare, first class, for GUS HALL from Chicago to Minneapolis.....	49.14

b6
b7C

9/29/64	To MAX WEINSTEIN, Chicago, for expenses in connection with work related to business investments plus salary.....	$ 1,000.00
9/29/64	Cost of hotel accommodations, Bismarck Hotel, Chicago, for five nights.....	87.55
9/30/64	Purchase price of books secured for GUS HALL and sent to Yonkers, New York.....	7.80
9/30/64	Purchase price of books to be mailed or carried abroad.....	16.94
9/30/64	To JACK KLING to hold as temporary depository and from which disbursements to be made for FLYNN burial, travel related to election activity, and business investments.....	4,190.00
	Total	$ 6,090.17

Total Funds in Possession of CG 5824-S* as of September 30, 1964

Solo Funds

Maintained in cash in safe deposit box, Mid-America National Bank, Chicago, Illinois.....	$ 92,000.00

CP, USA Reserve Funds

Maintained in cash in safe deposit box, Michigan Avenue National Bank, Chicago, Illinois.....	5,456.15
Total	$ 97,456.15

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 10/5/64

FROM SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637A)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYlet, 9/4/64.

The records of the NYO reflect the following transactions regarding Solo Funds during the month of September, 1964:

Credits

On hand: 9/1/64 $600,595.00

Debits

9/10/64 to LENA SCHERER for CPUSA National Office Expenses ---	$16,000	
9/21/64 to LENA SCHERER for CPUSA National Office Payroll ---	6,000	
9/29/64 to LENA SCHERER for CPUSA National Office Expenses ---	~~10,000~~ 8,000	
	Balance	~~$560,595.00~~ 40,000.00 ~~570,595.00~~ 30,000.00

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-128861 (CPUSA FUNDS - RESERVE FUNDS)(42)
1 - NY 100-134637A (41)

REC 8 100-428091-4207

16 OCT 1964

EX-103

JDO:mfd
(6)

memo to Sullivan WGS 10/8/64

INV. SEC.

65 OCT 12 1964

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 10/6/64

Transmit the following in _____ *(Type in plain text or code)*

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED *(Priority)*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 10/5/64, there was received from the Soviets via radio a ciphered coded message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"There is no plan to postpone CP meeting which is to start in Moscow on 12/15/64."

The above message is in reply to a CPUSA inquiry which is reported in NY airtel dated 10/5/64, on page 3 thereof, wherein the Soviets were requested to advise whether there was any truth in rumors persistently appearing in USA newspaper that the 12/15/64 meeting in Moscow would be postponed.

EX-114 100-428091-4208

REC-7

OCT 9 1964

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(AM-RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:rvs
(7)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

79 OCT 14 1964

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 25 1964

TELETYPE

CODE ROOM: PLEASE SEND BY CODED TELETYPE.

TO: NEW YORK, ATTENTION MR. [redacted]

b6
b7C

FROM: DIRECTOR

SOLO
IS-C

Following is encryption of message received from New York this date:

ZERO SEVEN EIGHT FIVE NINE DASH TWO SIX THREE SIX THREE DASH
ZERO ZERO SEVEN TWO FIVE DASH SEVEN THREE FIVE SIX ZERO DASH
FOUR SIX EIGHT TWO FIVE DASH THREE ONE FIVE SEVEN FOUR DASH
TWO NINE ZERO NINE THREE DASH ONE ZERO FIVE FOUR ONE DASH
SIX TWO ZERO TWO EIGHT DASH THREE THREE SEVEN ONE FIVE DASH
TWO ZERO ONE TWO THREE DASH ONE ONE EIGHT FOUR SEVEN DASH
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FIVE SEVEN THREE SEVEN FIVE

First key group: ZERO SEVEN EIGHT FIVE NINE, last key group: SEVEN NINE FIVE NINE SEVEN.

EX-114, 7-Paddock
100-428091 4/209
REC-23
6 OCT 12 1964

65 OCT 19 1964

(1)

1 - Mr. ~~Paddock~~ PWP

10/5/64

CODE ROOM: PLEASE SEND BY CODED TELETYPE.

TO: NEW YORK, ATTENTION MR. WARREN MARCHESSAULT

FROM: DIRECTOR

SOLO
IS-C

FOLLOWING MESSAGE RECEIVED THIS DATE.

NR 193 GR 23

THERE IS NO PLAN TO POSTPONE LANES KEN WHICH IS TO START IN HOTEL ON DECEMBER ONE FIVE.

FIRST KEY GROUP ONE ZERO NINE TWO NINE. LAST KEY GROUP FIVE FOUR THREE SEVEN SEVEN.

7 - PADDOCK PWP

PWP:dek
(2)

(2)

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 8, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

My memorandum of 9/9/64 set forth in detail receipts of funds from the Soviet Union and Red China by the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and the disbursements of these funds during August, 1964. The following schedule shows the present status of these funds together with receipts and disbursements during September, 1964.

SUMMARY:

Total received from Soviet Union 9/58 to 9/30/64	$ 2,279,991
Total received from Red China 2/60 to 9/30/64	50,000
Grand total received 9/58 to 9/30/64	2,329,991
Total disbursements to 9/30/64	~~1,677,396~~
Balance of Fund 9/30/64	$ ~~652,595~~* 662,595*

* $560,595 maintained by NY 694-S* in New York City.
$ 92,000 maintained by CG 5824-S* in Chicago.

DETAILS:

Total received from Soviet Union 9/58 to 8/31/64	$ 2,279,991
Total received from Red China 2/60 to 8/31/64	50,000
Grand total received 9/58 to 8/31/64	2,329,991
Total disbursements to 8/31/64	1,637,396
Balance of Fund 8/31/64	$ 692,595
Receipts during September, 1964	--

DISBURSEMENTS DURING SEPTEMBER, 1964:

9/10/64 - To Lena Scherer, CPUSA Reserve Fund official for CPUSA national office expenses	$ 16,000
9/21/64 - To Lena Scherer for CPUSA national office payroll.	6,000
9/29/64 - To Lena Scherer for CPUSA national office expenses.	~~10,000~~ 8,000

100-428091
WGS:pah
(5)

REC- 31 100-428091-4210

CONTINUED -- OVER

EX 109

6 OCT 12 1964

65 OCT 19 1964

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOLO
100-428091

TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS - SEPTEMBER, 1964 $ ~~40,000~~ 30,000

BALANCE OF FUND 9/30/64 ~~652,595~~ 662,595

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is submitted for your information. An up-to-date accounting of Solo funds will be brought to your attention each month. Details of the accounting of these funds are not to be disseminated.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 10/6/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

5- SAC Letter (Dorf) 10/13/64 p.3

In connection with the continuing discussion taking place regarding the possible forthcoming 16th Solo Mission by CG 5824-S*, the source on 10/5/64 advised that in order to comply with GUS HALL's instructions, he should be in the Soviet Union sometime around the period of 10/25-27/64. Source noted, however, that GUS HALL insists on seeing CG 5824-S* prior to his departure and because of the fact that HALL will be unavailable in New York City after 10/18/64, he must contemplate leaving Chicago for New York probably around 10/15 or 16/64. At this time then CG 5824-S* hopes to be able to spend at least a part of one day or perhaps two days in final briefing and discussions with HALL in preparation for meetings with representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). In view of this, CG 5824-S* feels that technically he would have to plan on leaving Chicago around 10/15 or 16/64 and that this would be the actual commencement date of the trip although he would not probably depart from the U.S. until perhaps 10/19 or 20/64. Tentatively, he is thinking of proceeding to London where he would pick up his visa and then proceed to Paris where he would stop for perhaps 3 or 4 days. It was his opinion that such a stop in Paris would give him some additional cover for the final leg of the trip which would take him into Moscow via Prague.

DONAHUE p.2

1-813RB

(3)-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Info)(RM)
1-Chicago
RWH:MDW
(5)

REC-64 100-428091-4211

EX-101

OCT 13 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M. Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

OCT 21 1964

In regard to all of the foregoing, CG 5824-S* noted that the itinerary mentioned was strictly tentative and that as of this time he had taken no steps to formalize it.

The source then went on and advised that in view of earlier instructions given by GUS HALL to NY 694-S* and in discussions by HALL with himself, he will on this trip be accompanied by CG 6653-S. HALL has suggested that CG 6653-S accompany CG 5824-S* because of the possible length of the trip, because of the fact he anticipates that CG 6653-S can be of a positive help to CG 5824-S*, and because HALL feels that neither CG 5824-S* nor CG 6653-S has taken an extended vacation or rest for the past number of years and that such a trip could be their "rewards" from him.

In regard to CG 6653-S accompanying CG 5824-S* on this trip, the source noted that she does not relish the idea but that since she is cognizant of the true status of his health and current physical condition, she would not, after HALL suggested that she accompany CG 5824-S*, be inclined not to take this trip with him. She feels that she could and will be of considerable assistance to CG 5824-S* and can performmany technical matters and, in fact, provide him additional security for this specific phase of the operation.

CG 5824-S* then went on and advised that considering all factors he is now convinced that in connection with this trip he and his wife should travel under the HAROLD M. JULES legend as it had been tried and tested. He noted that he had considered recommending a change of legend but that in view of the changed conditions resulting from the McCarran Act decision by the Supreme Court, he felt the Russians might question this and feel that security had been jeopardized. The other alternative would have been the utilization of a true name passport, both by himself and his wife, but he stated he ruled this out because of the confidential nature of the trip.

CG 5824-S* further noted that at the present time he does not know nor can he estimate the possible duration of time he would spend abroad in connection with the 16th Solo Mission. He stated that as he had previously pointed out HALL has designated the number one purpose for this trip as

being to negotiate with the Russians for the Party subsidy in 1965. While he believes that he will probably be designated by HALL to attend the 12/15/64 preparatory meeting in Moscow, he is not actually certain that he will nor can he guarantee it. In this connection, the source pointed out that HALL as of 9/29/64 stated that he had not selected, except for JAMES JACKSON and HENRY WINSTON, the individuals whom he would send as delegates or observers to the 12/15 meeting. CG 5824-S* stated that he could assume that HALL intended to have him attend the 12/15 meeting but that until he again meets with HALL during the period of approximately 10/16-18/64, and is able to openly interrogate HALL on this point and ask for specific identities of delegates, his own status will be uncertain. Should HALL at that time name him as a delegate, alternate, or observer for the 12/15 meeting, CG 5824-S* feels that this trip would encompass a minimum of 8-10 weeks or perhaps even a longer period, depending upon the length of that 12/15 meeting. In view of this, CG 5824-S* will for the present at least make plans locally which will cover an absence from Chicago up to 1/1/65.

In connection with CG 6653-S accompanying him on this 16th Solo Mission, CG 5824-S* advised that she will on 10/6 or 7/64 contact her personal physician in Chicago for the purpose of securing a letter. This letter would request that CG 6653-S, a current employee of Cook County Welfare, Chicago, be granted an extended leave of absence for physical reasons and rest. Such leave of absence would be of a sufficient duration to cover any absence contemplated up to the present time.

Discussions with CG 5824-S* regarding preparations and developments in connection with the 16th Solo Mission are continuing with CG 5824-S* and any additional pertinent information will be furnished to the Bureau and New York.

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 29 1964
TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

7-45 PM EDST 9-29-64 JRL

TO NEW YORK, ATTENTION MR. [redacted]

b6
b7C

/18/

FROM DIRECTOR

SOLO

IS-C

FOLLOWING IS ENCRYPTION OF CORRECTED MESSAGE RECEIVED FROM NEW YORK THIS DATE.

ONE EIGHT SIX SIX EIGHT DASH FOUR SEVEN ONE ZERO FOUR DASH
FOUR FIVE ONE TWO SIX DASH EIGHT NINE SIX SEVEN EIGHT DASH
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100-428091 — 4312
OCT 13 1964

7 - Foreign Desk

65 DEC 2 1964

PAGE THREE

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PAGE SIX

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PAGE SEVEN

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PAGE ELEVEN

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SIX ZERO DASH EIGHT ZERO FOUR FOUR ZERO DASH FOUR ZERO TWO
SEVEN FOUR DASH ONE ONE EIGHT ZERO ONE DASH TWO ONE ONE FIVE
ONE DASH SEVEN SIX FIVE SEVEN FIVE DASH ONE THREE ONE EIGHT
THREE DASH FIVE FOUR FIVE SIX SEVEN DASH THREE SEVEN THREE
FOUR FIVE DASH NINE ONE NINE ZERO SIX DASH THREE EIGHT FIVE EIGHT
NINE DASH NINE ZERO ONE FIVE TWO DASH NINE EIGHT TWO ONE EIGHT
DASH FOUR SEVEN NINE SEVEN NINE DASH SIX ZERO EIGHT TWO ONE
DASH SEVEN NINE SEVEN NINE SIX DASH SIX FOUR SEVEN THREE TWO
DASH FIVE ZERO THREE EIGHT ONE DASH SEVEN NINE SIX NINE TWO
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ONE TWO THREE TWO NINE DASH ONE SEVEN SIX FOUR EIGHT DASH
SIX SIX ONE EIGHT SIX DASH SEVEN NINE ZERO FIVE THREE DASH
NINE ZERO FIVE ZERO EIGHT DASH FOUR SEVEN THREE SEVEN SIX DASH
ONE SIX SEVEN NINE EIGHT DASH ONE ONE THREE SEVEN ONE DASH
NINE EIGHT NINE ZERO SEVEN DASH EIGHT SEVEN SEVEN THREE EIGHT
DASH ONE FIVE THREE TWO ONE DASH EIGHT EIGHT NINE EIGHT EIGHT
DASH EIGHT FOUR FIVE FIVE TWO DASH THREE NINE FIVE SIX SEVEN DASH
SIX SIX EIGHT FOUR FIVE DASH ZERO SIX ZERO FIVE ONE DASH SEVEN

PAGE TWELVE

SIX FOUR NINE FOUR DASH SIX ONE FOUR FIVE FOUR DASH SEVEN ZERO THREE ONE TWO DASH SIX ZERO THREE SIX SIX DASH ZERO SIX NINE SEVEN FOUR DASH ONE THREE TWO SIX TWO DASH FIVE SIX FIVE EIGHT ZERO DASH ZERO SIX NINE SEVEN TWO DASH SIX ONE ZERO ONE FIVE DASH EIGHT EIGHT FOUR NINE EIGHT.

FIRST KEY GROUP-- ONE EIGHT SIX SIX EIGHT, LAST KEY GROUP-- FOUR ZERO TWO ONE ZERO

END ACK

DAE

FBI NEW YORK

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63) DATE: SEP 30 1964

SAC, NEW YORK (100-74560)

CP, USA FUNDS
IS-C
(OO:NEW YORK)

The following information should not be included in the details of a report or any memorandum prepared for dissemination outside the Bureau:

The following is a summary of results of the NYO's efforts to trace ultimate use of SCLO funds by the CP, USA, and its allied organizations:

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES

On 6/23/64, a deposit of $4,000, consisting of $3,000 in twenty dollar bills, and $1,000 in ten dollar bills, was made to the account of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, at the Amalgamated Bank of New York, 11-15 Union Square.

One hundred and thirty-eight twenty dollar bills were identical with money furnished NY 694-S* by the Soviets on 6/11/63.

One hundred and thirty-six ten dollar bills were identical with the money received by NY 694-S* on 1/31/64, from the Soviets.

100-428091-
NOT RECORDED
126 OCT 21 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-63-34-111

(4) - Bureau (RM)
(1 - 65-656405) (TRACING OF AMERICAN MONEY USED BY SOVIETS IN ESPIONAGE OPERATIONS)
(1) - 100-428091) (SOLO - TRACING OF SOLO FUNDS)
1 - New York (97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS, INC.) (42)
1 - New York (100-38982) (AFTON TOURS) (41)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (41)
1 - New York (100-144189) (FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES) (42)
1 - New York (65-17696) (TRACING OPERATIONS) (34)
1 - New York (42)

RGO:jfc
(20)

67 OCT 22 1964

PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS, INC. (Committee for a Free Press)

On 7/6/64, a deposit of $5,000 consisting of twenty dollar bills was made to the account of the Committee for a Free Press, at the First National City Bank, 250 Fifth Avenue.

All but sixteen of these bills were identical with money furnished NY 694-S* on 6/11/63, by the Soviets.

On 7/20/64, a deposit of $7,600 consisting of twenty dollar bills was made to the account of the Committee for a Free Press, at the above mentioned bank.

One hundred and forty-five of these bills were identical with bills obtained at a New York bank in exchange for money received by NY 694-S* from the Soviets on 4/25/63.

On 8/14/64, a deposit of $4,000 consisting of twenty dollar bills was made to the account of the Committee for a Free Press, at the above mentioned bank.

One hundred and ninety-three of these bills were identical with money received by NY 694-S* from the Soviets on 3/14/64.

AFTON TOURS

On 7/14/64, a deposit of $825 was made to the account of Afton Tours maintained at Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, 969 8th Avenue. This deposit consisted of eight one-hundred dollar bills and two ten dollar bills, none of which could be identified with SOLO money.

On 8/26/64, a deposit of $1280 consisting of one-hundred, fifty, twenty, and ten dollar bills was made to the account of Afton Tours, at the above mentioned bank.

None of this money could identified with SOLO funds.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-13-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

The Acting Attorney General

October 14, 1964

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Solo

We have recently learned that the Communist Party, USA, plans to send a delegation to the Soviet Union in the latter part of October, 1964, to represent the Communist Party, USA, at the November 7, 1964, celebration in Moscow, Russia, honoring the 47th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Present plans call for the delegation to be composed of the following individuals, all of whom are members of the Communist Party, USA, National Committee: Burt Gale Nelson, Thomas Nabried, James S. West, William L. Patterson, Roscoe Proctor, Philip Bart and Thomas DeWitt Dennis, Jr.

The above information was furnished by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past. Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication is being classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

100-428091

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

WGS:pah
(9)

REC- 15 100-428091-E213

EX- 117

6 OCT 15 1964

MAILED 8
OCT 14 1964
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 694-S*) who is of continuing value, and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information extracted from New York airtel 10/8/64 captioned "Solo, IS-C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

OCT 14 2 26 PM '64
FBI
REC'D-READING ROOM

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

65 OCT 19 1964

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-13-2012

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

October 14, 1964

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

RECORDED-READING ROOM
FBI
OCT 14 2 27 PM '64

Honorable Dean Rusk
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rusk:

We have recently learned that the Communist Party, USA, plans to send a delegation to the Soviet Union in the latter part of October, 1964, to represent the Communist Party, USA, at the November 7, 1964, celebration in Moscow, Russia, honoring the 47th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Present plans call for the delegation to be composed of the following individuals, all of whom are members of the Communist Party, USA, National Committee: Burt Gale Nelson, Thomas Nabried, James S. West, William L. Patterson, Roscoe Proctor, Philip Bart and Thomas DeWitt Dennis, Jr.

The above information was furnished by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past. Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication is being classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

100-428091-4214
EX-114
REC-53

Sincerely yours,

6 OCT 15 1964

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

~~TOP SECRET~~
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

100-428091

WGS:pah
(7)

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

65 OCT 10 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 694-S*) who is of continuing value, and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information extracted from New York airtel 10/8/64 captioned "Solo, IS-C."

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-13-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

October 14, 1964

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

RECD-READING ROOM
OCT 14 2 27 PM '64
B I

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Solo

We have recently learned that the Communist Party, USA, plans to send a delegation to the Soviet Union in the latter part of October, 1964, to represent the Communist Party, USA, at the November 7, 1964, celebration in Moscow, Russia, honoring the 47th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Present plans call for the delegation to be composed of the following individuals, all of whom are members of the Communist Party, USA, National Committee: Burt Gale Nelson, Thomas Nabried, James S. West, William L. Patterson, Roscoe Proctor, Philip Bart and Thomas DeWitt Dennis, Jr.

The above information was furnished by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past. Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication is being classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

REC-53 100-428091-42115

EX-114

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091

WGS:pah
(7)

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

OCT 15 1964

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

65 OCT 19 1964

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 694-S*) who is of continuing value, and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information extracted from New York airtel 10/8/64 captioned "Solo, IS-C."

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

F B I

Date: 10/12/64

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 10/12/64, there was received from the Soviets via radio a ciphered message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Sum requested by you has been sanctioned and will be handed over soon."

For explanation of the above message, see NY airtel dated 10/5/64, page 2, reflecting that the CPUSA had requested $100,000 from the Soviets for use in the CPUSA campaign with respect to the coming U.S. elections.

1-813 RB

3 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd
(8)

REC-53 100-428091-4276

EX-114

OCT 15 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 OCT 19 1964

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 12, 1964

FROM: C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/12/64, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time one message, NR 523 GR 20, was sent.

The plain text is set forth below. The cipher text is attached.

NR 523 GR 20

SUM REQUESTED BY YOU HAS BEEN SANCTIONED AND WILL BE HANDED OVER SOON.

Sum referred to probably is the money requested for the election campaign as set forth in my memo to you dated 9/29/64.

New York was advised of the above on this date.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock
PWP:drv
(8)

1 ENCLOSURE

REC-53 100-428091-4217

EX-114

OCT 15 1964

65 OCT 19 1964

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 12 1964
RADIO

10-12-64

TO MR DOWNING

FROM A W SMYTH

NR 2. MESSAGE AS FOLLOWS ON FIRST SCHEDULE.

NR 523 GR 20

57691-79279-76828-70037-87220--56338-10303-77141-03641-68689

46340-20766-44333-16707-39027--27886-59319-55997-28019-59136

END

JJC

V11-55 AM MSL

ENCLOSURE 100-428091-421

10/7/64

Airtel

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. Reddy
1 - Mr. Ryan
1 - Mr. Shaw

To: SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

From: Director, FBI (100-428091)

REC-53

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReNYairtel 10/5/64 in captioned matter a copy of which was furnished your office.

Reairtel discloses that during a meeting between NY 694-S* and his Soviet principal, Vladimir Chuchukin, on 10/2/64, Chuchukin stated that on 9/23/64, James Jackson went to the Soviet United Nations Mission and requested that he be given funds immediately. Chuchukin stated that the Soviets are very much upset and concerned about Jackson requesting money and want to be advised as to why Jackson made this request since all financial transactions presumably are made "through channels." NY 694-S* observed that Gus Hall undoubtedly will be very much upset to learn of Jackson's action and requested that CG 5824-S* be advised of this matter so that CG 5824-S* can furnish this information to Gus Hall.

The Bureau feels that this situation will afford CG 5824-S* an excellent opportunity to take steps to discredit James Jackson in the eyes of Gus Hall and thereby virtually eliminate any possible consideration that Hall may be giving to having Jackson assume a more responsible position within the national leadership of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA). In this connection, CG 5824-S* should pull no punches in advising Hall of the seriousness of Jackson's indiscretion. It is suggested that CG 5824-S* point out to Hall that the CPUSA has been placed in a most embarrassing position by having to offer an explanation for Jackson's stupid blunder. CG 5824-S* could even suggest that perhaps Jackson is endeavoring to undercut Hall.

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

1 - New York (100-134637)

WGS:pah
(7)

MAILED 8
OCT 7 - 1964
COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

65 OCT 19 1964

In addition, it is suggested that CG 5824-S* inform Hall that Jackson's action will undoubtedly have a very adverse effect on the forthcoming negotiations with the Soviets relative to the CPUSA's request for financial assistance.

The above suggested course of action should be taken only if it can be accomplished without in any manner affecting the security of CG 5824-S* or NY 694-S*. The Bureau should be promptly advised of Hall's reaction upon being informed by CG 5824-S* of Jackson's action in contacting the Soviets for funds.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 10/5/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 10/2/64, NY 694-S* furnished the following information to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and JOHN DENNIS O'CONNELL:

Pursuant to previously made arrangements, NY 694-S* met VLADIMIR CHUCHUKIN at the Midland Bank, NYC, at 2:40 p.m. on 10/2/64. At this meeting CHUCHUKIN delivered to NY 694-S* a package containing a micro-radio transmitter and receiver, an E. F. Johnson personal 2-way radio transceiver, and a cover of a Winston cigarette box containing chemical designed to destroy microfilm therein.

By airtel 9/28/64, page 11 thereof, it was reported that the aforesaid material would be delivered to NY 694-S* by CHUCHUKIN.

By airtel dated 7/1/64, the aforementioned material was described.

3 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(AMRM)
1 - NY 134091 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 105-45740 (VLADIMIR CHUCHUKIN)(341)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd (#41)
(10)

REC-53 100-428091

OCT 8 1964

EX-114

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

NY 694-S* delivered to CHUCHUKIN for transmission to the Soviets, a ciphered-partially coded message on microfilm, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Presidential and Congressional election results of 1964 will have most decisive effect on foreign and domestic policies of our country and in turn will influence contemporary events on a world-wide scale.

"During remaining weeks of campaign we are going all out to mobilize and unite the labor movement and all Progressive forces to defeat reaction. We do not consider this 'an electoral game' or merely another ordinary election. It is as we say here 'it is all or nothing' to defeat serious threat to peace and democracy.

"Amongst the independents and the left in our country there is no more energetic or consistent a force than the Communist Party, USA. We have placed all our resources into this fight for unity and victory over reaction. We have gone so far as to borrow tens of thousands of dollars in order to keep fight at high political level and to remove the complacency that has developed. A complacency that forgets the 'silent' or 'racial' vote is what the reactionaries desire. The sample polls, notwithstanding, there is danger that exists that reaction will surge forward with this bigoted vote. Because of American democratic tradition and state of present public opinion, even a bigot will not dare admit openly or on a poll that he or she is a bigot. This is a serious danger.

"We are making an urgent comradely appeal to you for immediate material aid so that we can continue the remainder of election campaign deserving of its importance. We are in need of $100,000.00. We are not unmindful of your comradely generosity and deeds of International Solidarity at all times in the past and for this we want to thank you warmly.

Morris Childs when he sees you in near future will explain to you more reason and detail for this great urgency.

"Gus Hall"

The informant also delivered to CHUCHUKIN a coded message on microfilm, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Is there any truth in rumors persistently appearing in USA newspapers that the 12/15/64 meeting in Moscow will be postponed? Please radio yes or no."

(This refers to the so-called preparatory meeting to be held in Moscow prior to the planned international conference of Communist Parties to be held in 1965.)

NY 694-S* stated that during the few moments of his meeting with CHUCHUKIN, the latter told him the following:

The next place at which the Soviets will deliver money to NY 694-S* will be at 120 Wall Street, NYC. (It will be noted that as yet there are no arrangements made for any further transmittal of money from the Soviets to the CPUSA.)

CHUCHUKIN stated that 9/23/64, JAMES JACKSON, Editor of "The Worker," went to the Soviet United Nations Mission and requested that he be given immediately "color prints." (Color prints, in the code used by CHUCHUKIN and NY 694-S*, refers to money. In the past a color print has signified the sum of $1,000.) CHUCHUKIN stated that the Soviets are very much upset and concerned about JACKSON's requesting this money and want to be advised with respect to why he had made this request for money since all financial transactions presumably are made "through channels."

NY 694-S* stated that GUS HALL undoubtedly will be very much upset to learn of JAMES JACKSON's having gone to the Soviet UN Mission for money and requested that CG 5824-S* be advised about this matter and requested to furnish the information to GUS HALL.

CHUCHUKIN also inquired whether the CPUSA is familiar with an attorney named LEONARD BOUDIN, and whether the latter has a daughter who is now in Moscow. NY 694-S* promised to check this matter for CHUCHUKIN.

Above-described communications apparatus will be delivered to the FBI Laboratory for examination.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

REC 53 100-428091-5

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/8/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 10/8/64, NY 694-S* transmitted to the Soviets, through ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN, the secondary channel, several microfilmed messages, the plain text of which will be set out hereinafter:

1. A ciphered-partially coded message as follows:

"Morris Childs will travel under name of HAROLD M. JULES. Please have floating visa for him in the Embassies of Paris and London. Notify Czechoslovakian Embassies in same places."

2. A ciphered-partially coded message as follows:

"Regarding your question of missing gammas, page 23, lines 29 to 40; page 24, lines 01 to 02. I recall a message was sent by HALL to KHRUSHCHEV on the occasion of latter's 70th birthday. The time factor prevented us from transmitting the message through you. Instead personal salutations were given to KHRUSHCHEV verbally.

"Jack Brooks"

3 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-53 100-428091-6219

EX-114 6 OCT 15 1964

ACB:mfd (#41)
(10)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 OCT 19 1964

(The above message is in reply to an inquiry by VLADIMIR CHUCHUKIN, at his last meeting with NY 694-S*, regarding the above-mentioned gammas. NY 694-S*, in the above message, is explaining that the ciphered message had not been transmitted to the Soviets because of the fact that he personally had gone to Moscow and delivered the message in the said ciphers to KHRUSHCHEV personally.)

b6
b7C

3. A partially coded message as follows:

"Attorney LEONARD BOUDIN has [redacted] She is now in Moscow as [redacted] os [redacted]"

(The above message is in reply to an inquiry by the Soviets with respect to whether the CPUSA knew LEONARD BOUDIN and whether he [redacted] in Moscow.)

4. A partially coded message as follows:

ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

"Regarding second channel and N (NEEDLEMAN): N has been most trusted and confidential CP member for many years. We utilize him only in matters of great importance. This is why HALL chose N to be the second channel. We know, and it is known, that he deals with Soviet institutions and enterprises. This he has done for many years. Therefore his trustworthiness and loyalty, together with our knowledge of his being known to deal with Soviet commercial people, gave us an excellent and ideal opportunity to utilize him as a second channel.

"In our opinion, the manner in which we contact him indirectly does not create any suspicion in this important undertaking. The second channel is a great time saver for us and for you. Also, in this way, documents in volume can be transmitted expeditiously.

"N does not know the contents of container nor the nature of any other transactions. He has our full trust and confidence."

(The above message was prepared by NY 694-S* pursuant to a request therefrom by CHUCHUKIN at their last meeting. CHUCHUKIN indicated that the Soviets in New York were desirous of having such a documentation of NEEDLEMAN in their files in order to justify the utilization of NEEDLEMAN as a secondary channel. It will be noted that the Soviets in Moscow previously had been furnished with information concerning NEEDLEMAN before they authorized his use as a secondary channel.)

5. A message as follows:

"Please note correction in our September 25th message, frame #A, 5th paragraph, 4th line, which should read Rye instead of Ray."

(The above has reference to a mistake in the spelling of the code name of ARNOLD JOHNSON.)

6. A partially coded message as follows:

"Please transmit to the Central Committee of the CP of Czechoslovakia immediately:

" C O P Y

"NEAR NORTH MEDICAL CENTER
Leo M. Goldman, M.C.
166 West Division Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

July 25, 1964.

"TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

B. APPROX. 1891

"RE: OTTO WANGERIN, Age 75

"I first treated Mr. WANGERIN in April, 1964. At this time he was confined to a chair due to a left himiparesis. The

"patient stated that in November, 1963 he was admitted to Michael Reese Hospital for a cerebral vascular thrombosis causing a complete paresis of the left side. For several months afterwards he received physiotherapy to the left extremities and was fitted with a brace for the lower extremity. There had been some improvement and at the time he was examined by me he had some motion of the left shoulder and elbow but none in the left hand. There was a return of 20% function of the lower left extremity and the patient was able to walk with the aid of a cane.

"When he was first examined by me a glucosuria was discovered and he was admitted to the hospital for further evaluation. A mild diabetes was found which was brought under control with oral-hypoglycemics (Dymelor 0.5gm daily) and diet. An EKG at the time was abnormal revealing a left heart strain pattern.

"The patient is now home and requires assistance in getting about the house and caring for his usual needs. Physiotherapy, with the object of re-educating muscle groups, should be continued.

"Very truly yours, [redacted] M.D." b6 b7C

(With respect to the above message, reference is made to NY airtel dated 9/28/64, page 5 thereof, reflecting that the CPUSA had requested that OTTO WANGERIN and his wife, SYLVIA, be invited to visit Czechoslovakia by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian CP.)

7. A partially coded message as follows:

"Please radio re [redacted]" b6 b7C

(Regarding the above message, see NY airtel dated 9/28/64, page 9, reflecting that the CPUSA requested that [redacted] his wife, and child, be invited to the Soviet Union.)

8. A partially coded message as follows:

"Please add to your open code list:

"Needleman - Saint

"Roscoe Proctor - Jersey

"Passport - Belt

"Will test next Tuesday A.M."

(The above message reflects that NY 694-S* has added several new words to the code used with the Soviets. It also reflects that he plans to test his new "walkie-talkie" apparatus on Tuesday, 10/13/64.)

9. A partially coded message as follows:

"Notice!

"The following CP members of our National Committee and their wives will soon leave for travel to the Soviet Union. They will arrive in time for the celebration of November 7th and as a delegation for that event from the CPUSA. Since we do not know the exact route for travel, please have their visas at the Soviet Embassies in Washington, D.C., London and Paris.

U.S.S.R. U.S.

"1. BURT NELSON and his wife HELEN Nelson, Mrs. Burt Nelson

"2. TOM NABRIED of the CPUSA Control Commission

"3. TOM DENNIS and his wife ELLEN DENNIS

"4. PHIL BART and his wife CONNIE

"5. WILLIAM PATTERSON, who will go to Washington, D.C. to get his own visa.

"6. JAMES WEST of Chicago

"7. ROSCOE PROCTOR, member of the National Committee from Northern California-

"Morris Childs"

10. A partially coded message as follows:

"Please note transfer of the following CP member. This is to inform you that PATRICK SHEHAN was member of the CPUSA from 1924 until his departure to Soviet Armenia. He was a trusted, loyal and devoted CP member and active especially among the Armenians in our country.

"Morris Childs"

(NY 694-S* is not familiar with the above-named individual and a check of the NYO indices with regard to him was negative. NY 694-S* believes that HALL, while in Chicago recently, requested CG 5824-S* to have this message transmitted to the Soviets.)

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

FBI

Date: 10-9-64

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

5 - Shargel (Encl)

ReNYairtel 9/28/64 concerning meeting between NY 694-S* and VLADIMIR A. CHUCHUKIN on 9/25/64.

NY 694-S* advised on 10/7/64 that certain revisions should be made in the information previously furnished and set forth in reference airtel. He stated that the code name "Brother" is to be used to designate the "walky-talky operation" rather than the micro-transmitter and receiver operation and that the signal time for the "walky-talky operation" is between 9:09 A.M., and 9:15 A.M., rather than 9:09 P.M., and 9:15 P.M. He stated that the code name for the micro-transmitter and receiver operation is "Girls."

In view of the foregoing the following corrections in referenced airtel should be made:

(1) On page 12, paragraph 1, the first sentence should read, "With respect to the walky-talky operation, which is to be referred to under the code name 'Brother,' signal time was agreed

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(AMR)
1 - NY 134-91-Inv. (#41)
1 - NY 105-45740; Vladimir Chuchukin (#341)
1 - NY 100-134637 (#41)

JDO:IM
(11)

cc Chief Pl-Trans 10/12/64

EX-114 REC-53 100-428091-4220

6 OCT 15 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 OCT 19 1964

"to be between 9:09 A.M., and 9:15 A.M., on Tuesdays and Thursdays."

(2) On page 12, paragraph 3, the first sentence should read, "Chuchukin stated that henceforth the places where the micro-transmitter and receiver operation will take place will be referred to under the code name 'Girls'."

(3) The locations of the telephone numbers set forth on page 13, paragraph 3, are as follows:

a) MU 6-9383 - Public telephone booth at the IRT Subway Station at 33rd Street and Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

b) WA 9-9482 - Sidewalk public telephone booth at Sheridan Square and Grove Street, New York, N.Y.

c) YU 9-9112 - Appears to be a wrong number. Further checks are being conducted.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

REC-62 pp 1-5-7

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 10/6/64

Transmit the following in _____ *(Type in plain text or code)*

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED *(Priority)*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 10/2/64, there was received at a NYC drop a note from LESLIE MORRIS, General Secretary of the Canadian CP, to be transmitted to GUS HALL. The note advised that MORRIS was enclosing therewith a letter he had received from BEATRICE JOHNSON, CPUSA Liaison with the Cuban CP. The aforesaid letter is as follows:

"Dear Leslie:

"These have been trying weeks for our folks at home. First Ben and now our most beloved Elizabeth. It is hard to be so far away at such moments. When the news came from Moscow it was a blow from which I find it hard to recover. I immediately made arrangements to go to the funeral, but there is a plane once the week and it was too late. So I cancelled my ticket and remained alone in my sorry. And to add insult to injury is the complete indifference I encountered. My article on Ben went in without delay or comment. My article on Elizabeth was held up a bit and when published the entire part of her role at the 81 Parties thing and the coming international meet was deleted on the excuse that there was no room for more, and the article was too long. News of the passing had the dateline of the place where it took place, but not a line from any one here. At first I had a subjective reaction and was furious enough to say the characteristic to hell with....., but I cooled off and decided to get

3 - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (AM-RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-62 100-428091-122

6 OCT 16 1964

ACB:rvs
(7)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 OCT 21 1964

"something said and done. Since had discussion on any level is next to impossible I called the editor and asked him if he knew Liz, Oh, yes said he (I am) many talks with her. Wouldn't you like to say something I can send in. Yes, of course and two sentences sufficed. Also sent word to the big fellow and have been calling for two days for an answer. Unbelievable.

"Well, I can think of many reasons. The fact is that our leaders are not known to the people here and it does not strike them, and the contact is lacking with most of the parties. I don't recall any message on Maurice or the Italian either, so why should we worry. The past is catching up with us and the future is difficult for them to build on all fronts on all levels. So this is the story. I have much to talk over. The people here said that I may be able to come to see you without any difficulties. If Gus agrees I can do it at the end of October, or perhaps to wait until after the elections. I will wait for advice.

"Well, take care of yourself for heavens sake and try to get this to G. attention as soon as possible. I am sure he will be interested.

"All my best. Bea.

"P.S.-Just got message of condolence to send in. B."

"Ben" and "Elizabeth", referred to in the aforesaid letter, are respectively BEN DAVIS and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

"Maurice" and "Italian", mentioned in the above letter, refer to MAURICE THOREZ and PALMERO TOGLIATTI respectively.

"Gus" and "G.", mentioned above refer to GUS HALL.

Also on 10/2/64, there was received via the Ether drop in NYC a partially coded letter addressed to NY 694-S*; plain text is as follows:

"Dear Jack:

"Please inform Gus Hall that I have bad news. I was told that visits to Canada would be possible with Cuban people, and now it seems that things are delicate and Cuban people afraid to risk. So Bea Johnson out also for any possible visit to Latin American countries - roads are closed. Bea Johnson has available now only G.D.R. papers for travel through USSR to other places on the same orbit, the socialist countries.

"However, contact with Latin Americans here improving. Have sent Gus Hall an important thing via Leslie Morris, indicating the position of the Communist Parties in Central Latin America - four Latin American countries worked out single position, blow to Johnson and slants of Cuban people. Bea Johnson suggests by all means it be published in P.A. Now Johnson has contact with about six living in Cuba - very good. How to relay them to Hall directly is the problem. But only this can be done, anything that concerns Central Latin American countries and the major South American countries can be given me through Leslie Morris.

"Many problems in Cuba hard to write about, need elaboration and discussion. Am anxious to see someone. The USSR people had everything fixed for Bea Johnson to go to Moscow to bid farewell to our beloved, but it was too late with only one chance a week to go. Perhaps Jack Childs or someone will be there and Johnson could join them. Johnson needs to cool off. The heat is a killer.

"Now about Castro - Dr. Rene Vallego is a dud - cannot rely on him. He promises and forgets like many others as a habit of work. Just wrote letter to Castro to take directly indicating the need to answer few questions. Will inform as soon as possible.

"Johnson wants to stress that indications are that Victor Rabinowitz' boys have had it as far as sending students are concerned. You should begin now for January 2 - and

"the information Johnson sent re conversations with youth in Cuba should be acted upon with all speed. Have Danny R. send article re new clubs. Rabinowitz' partner was here and Martha Dodd had him in tow. She introduced Bea Johnson very friendly, impression Johnson he not as bad as Rabinowitz, but conversation was light and the impression may be wrong. Advise me re that one.

"Want Gus Hall to know that message re Liz had to be solicited - such things are not taken for granted in P.U.R.S. leadership. Had to waive all subjective anger and solicit. Figured it would be bad not to get in, and the need to impress upon P.U.R.S. their relations to CPUSA - a weak spot, getting stronger. Johnson wrote on Liz, but part re ideological dispute and International Conference badly cut.

"Discussion on election going. Hall's 11th Hour very helpful also in accord with position Castro, but daily literature here is varied position, leaning left-wing direction, no differences at all - a tweedlely dee tweedlely dum. But Castro as always will prevail, alas left tendency present in all matters regardless. As friend from G.D.R. here said Castro's things can be used by all sides for all purposes.

"Hurra[redacted] has landed in New York - Jack Childs see her and don't forget about aiding her in Mexico with what should go to Bea Johnson. By the way if Jack Childs has not bought dresses yet, please extend to size 20. This is the situation brought on by heat. And shoes are urgent; is there no way to get them to Bea Johnson? b6 b7C

"Bea Johnson does not get 25 "Workers" from Art - only 2 or 3 irregularly, and they are badly needed for the American group can do much with them. Shall write Art inquiring.

"On second thought knowing how things go in Cuba, Bea Johnson suggests that Gibby address letter directly Castro, bring it to Cuban UN Mission for urgent transmission, with the statement that Castro is expecting it. In this it should be explained that the parcel thing can be done, and that they must supply what Castro suggested about 1,000 of them. Remember?

"Johnson wants answer re young lady - she refuses to write anything and insisting on a visitor to see her - absolutely nonsense but she will not budge - a tricky customer at best.

"Must inform that Bea Johnson needs for "Worker" have been delayed again for 3 weeks, and that is why nothing has appeared in "Worker" - Bea Johnson is upset and must find other ways to do this - any suggestions? From time to time the relations to Canada suffer strain and Johnson is the victim. Now am told the coast is clear again, so here goes.

"Mourn not - organize. It has been a terrible period and harder for being so far away - my profound sorrow added to those of millions for our beloved ones who are so badly needed and will never be forgotten. Please take care of yourselves.

"Best greetings,

"Bea Johnson

"For exchange -

"El Popular

"Tacuvari 172-of. 15
"Buenas Aires, Argentina (CP organ)

"Diario 'El Popular',

"Justicia y Lima
"Montevideo,
Uruguay

"all material - to

"Rodney Arismendi,
"Sierra 1720
"Montevideo,
Uruguay

"For Danny-R-

"All youth material to

"Miguel Martin, U. J. C.
"Calle Missiones 53
(frente a Palacio)
"Havana"

Dr. RENE VALLEGO, mentioned in the above letter, is a confidante of FIDEL CASTRO.

"Danny R.", mentioned above, is DANNY RUBIN, a CPUSA functionary.

"Rabinowitz' partner", mentioned above, is possibly LEONARD BOUDIN, law partner of RABINOWITZ.

HALL's 11th Hour is a reference to a pamphlet written by GUS HALL entitled "11th Hour."

[redacted] mentioned above, [redacted] of BEATRICE JOHNSON.

b6
b7C

"Art", mentioned above, is in reference to ART SHIELDS, "The Worker" correspondent in Moscow.

"Gibby", mentioned above, is in reference to ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN, who is being used as a second channel for contacts with the Soviets.

The line "In this it should be explained that the parcel thing can be done and they must supply what Castro suggested about 1,000 of them" is in reference to a scheme whereby letters from Cuban students will be sent to individuals in USA requesting that such individuals send medical supplies to Cuba.

b6
b7C

NY 100-134637

The "young lady", mentioned in above letter is [redacted] (Bufile 100-431305).

The "Danny R." in the above letter is in reference to CPUSA functionary, DANIEL RUBIN.

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-13-2012

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

October 14, 1964

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

REC'D-READING ROOM
OCT 14 2 26 PM '64

Honorable John A. McCone
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCone:

SOLO

We have recently learned that the Communist Party, USA, plans to send a delegation to the Soviet Union in the latter part of October, 1964, to represent the Communist Party, USA, at the November 7, 1964, celebration in Moscow, Russia, honoring the 47th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Present plans call for the delegation to be composed of the following individuals, all of whom are members of the Communist Party, USA, National Committee: Burt Gale Nelson, Thomas Nabried, James S. West, William L. Patterson, Roscoe Proctor, Philip Bart and Thomas DeWitt Dennis, Jr.

The above information was furnished by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past. Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, this communication is being classified "~~Top Secret.~~" This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

100-428091-4222

REC-47

Sincerely yours,

OCT 16 1964

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

100-428091

WGS:pah
(7)

~~TOP SECRET~~
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

EX-108

OCT 14 8 18 AM '64

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

65 OCT 21 1964

Honorable John A. McCone

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 694-S*) who is of continuing value, and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information extracted from New York airtel 10/8/64 captioned "Solo, IS-C."

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson ✓
Belmont ✓
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan ✓
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 15, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/15/64, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 285 GR 14, was sent.

The plain text is set forth below. The cipher text is attached.

NR 285 GR 14

ON 13 OCTOBER YOU WERE HEARED (sic) OK (repeat) OK.

This probably refers to a walkie-talkie device used to indicate a drop, a meet or a high speed radio transmission.

New York was advised of the above this date.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock
PWP:drv
(8)

ENCLOSURE

EX 109
REC 61 100-428091-4223

OCT 19 1964

65 OCT 21 1964

10/15/64

64688 95866 46550 43904 85766 71405 96879 88500 81019 02891
02556 14456 68165 74753

ENCLOSURE 100-428091— 4223

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-13-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

October 16, 1964

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R.C. Putnam

Honorable William D. Moyers
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Solo

Dear Mr. Moyers:

In connection with the recent unseating of Nikita Khrushchev in the Soviet Union, I thought you would be interested to know that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has advised the Communist Party, USA, as follows:

Khrushchev had asked the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to release him from the duties of First Secretary and member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. This request reportedly was motivated by deterioration of his health and old age. Khrushchev was released from his duties on October 14, 1964.

Leonid I. Brezhnev was designated First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Aleksey N. Kosygin became the Chairman of the Council of Ministers through a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. This action was taken by a Conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee advised that the policy of the Soviet Union pertaining to peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the strengthening

100-428091

RCP:pah/rbm
(8)

~~TOP SECRET~~
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

Tolson
Belmont
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DeLoach
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Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Delivered 10-19-64, 8/RM

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable William D. Moyers

of world peace would continue. The Soviets will continue to work for the development and strengthening of cordial relationships of the various communist parties on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, we have classified this communication ~~"Top Secret."~~ This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

Classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because unauthorized disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source is NY 694-S*. See memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, 10/16/64, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," FJB:skw.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

FBI

Date: 10/15/64

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel, 10/8/64, page 5 thereof, reflecting that on the aforesaid date NY 694-S* advised the Soiets that he would conduct a test of his new "walkie talkie" apparatus.

On 10/15/64, NY 694-S* received a radio message from the Soviets reflecting that on 10/13/64, they had heard his "walkie talkie signal."

1-3 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd (#41)
(8)

REC 61 100-428091-4225

EX 109

6 OCT 19 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 OCT 21 1964

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 10/9/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Re Chicago airtel 9/24/64.

NY 694-S* has no knowledge concerning the identities of ISOBEL (ISABELLE) and her husband mentioned in reference airtel.

REC- 44

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B)(RM)
1 - NY 100-134637 (#41)

JDO:IM
(4)

100-428091-4226

EX-114

OCT 12 1964

OCT 21 1964

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106 ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/12/64

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Row
1 - Mr. Shaw
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

In connection with the contemplated SOLO mission of CG 5824-S* and his wife (CG 6653-S) to the Soviet Union, SAC Johnson of our Chicago Office called on the morning of 10/12/64 for the purpose of securing Bureau authority to advance money for the trip to CG 5824-S*.

Specifically, SAC Johnson requested authority to pay $3,375 to our informant for two round-trip tickets to Moscow and return. In addition, he asked for authority to advance $3,000 to our informant for services and expenses to cover the period 10/15/64 to 12/15/64.

SAC Johnson said the departure date has been moved up and it is expected our informant and his wife will leave the United States on either 10/19/64 or 10/20/64. It will be necessary for our informant to go to New York and discuss problems of the trip with Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), before he leaves the country. He advised SAC Johnson on the morning of 10/12/64 that he expects to leave for New York on 10/14/64. SAC Johnson requested authority to send SA Richard Hansen, who handles this informant, to New York in order to assist with the preparations for the trip.

The 16th SOLO mission is being made by our informant to accomplish the following: To lay the groundwork for the coming preparatory meeting in Moscow scheduled for 12/15/64, with respect to the international conference of Communist Parties in 1965 and to discuss with the Soviets the amount of funds that the CPUSA will require from the Soviets during 1965.

ACTION:

I authorized SAC Johnson to make the expenditures he requested. In addition, I told him to send SA Hansen to New York for the purpose of assisting our informant in preparing for the trip.

EJB:cad
(6)

100-428097-4227
REC-35
OCT 20 1964

EX-108

INT. SEC.

65 OCT 22 1964

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-13-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

The Acting Attorney General

October 16, 1964

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Putnam

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Solo

In connection with the recent unseating of Nikita Khrushchev in the Soviet Union, I thought you would be interested to know that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has advised the Communist Party, USA, as follows:

Khrushchev had asked the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to release him from the duties of First Secretary and member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. This request reportedly was motivated by deterioration of his health and old age. Khrushchev was released from his duties on October 14, 1964.

MAILED 8 OCT 16 1964 COMM-FBI

Leonid I. Brezhnev was designated First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Aleksey N. Kosygin became the Chairman of the Council of Ministers through a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. This action was taken by a Conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee advised that the policy of the Soviet Union pertaining to peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the strengthening of world peace would continue. The Soviets will continue to work for the development and strengthening of cordial relationships of the various communist parties on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

REC-35 100-428091-4/22 6 OCT 20 1964

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, which have furnished reliable information in the past, we have classified this communication "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

100-428091

~~TOP SECRET~~
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

65 OCT 22 1964

RCP:kmj (10)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

The Acting Attorney General

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source is NY 694-S*. See memo Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan 10/16/64 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," FJB:kmj.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

10/12/64

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - Mr. Millen
1 - Mr. Baker
1 - Mr. Perritte

Airtel

To SAC, New York (100-134637)

From Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
IS - C

New York airtel 7/1/64 describes in detail radio transmitting and receiving devices which have now been furnished to NY694-S* to provide a means of clandestine high speed voice radio communications between NY694-S* and his Soviet Principal. NY airtel 7/10/64 refers to a "Johnson Personal Messenger" walkie-talkie which is a Citizens Band radio transceiver to be used by NY694-S* to send and receive simple prearranged signals between NY694-S* and his Soviet Principal.

The components comprising both systems mentioned above were obtained from NY694-S* by New York Office personnel and were delivered to the Electronics Section of the Laboratory via courier. All the equipment was examined by Electronics Section personnel on 10/7/64. EMT [redacted] of the New York Office who had been instructed by NY694-S* concerning the operation of the Soviet built high speed voice systems was present and assisted Electronics Section personnel during all tests and examinations of the various equipments.

b6
b7C

The "Johnson Personal Messenger" is a popular American made Citizens Band walkie-talkie. Inspection of this unit revealed no modifications of any sort and it functioned in the normal manner. Its operating frequency was measured and was determined to be Channel 1 of the Citizens Band frequency allocation, specifically 26.965 Mc/s. It is noted that when this unit was purchased by the Soviets in New York, it was at that time operational on Channel 18,

MAILED 6
OCT 12 1964
COMM-FBI

Tolson
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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Enclosures (3)
JLP:ev (9)

REC-23 100-428091-4239
6 OCT 21 1964

65 OCT 27 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

the frequency of which is 27.175 Mc/s; however, it is a simple matter to change the operating frequency and such frequency change does not constitute a modification of the equipment.

The Soviet made high speed voice communications system is considerably more sophisticated. It is comprised of two separate and independent kits: one kit containing the transmitter complete with all accessories, the other kit containing the receiver complete with all accessories. The equipment is well designed and the physical construction is of good quality. It is quite compact and delicate by nature but is of good quality. Its physical and electronic design and construction is very similar to that of the radio signaling equipment taken from the Soviet subjects at the time of the arrest of the subjects of the Butenko case. It appears that both devices are products of the same factory and it also appears that the equipment is most likely of East German design and production.

The transmitter and receiver cases contain the radio electronics plus the miniature magnetic wire recorder/reproducer units. The electronic portion is battery powered and utilizes rechargeable batteries. A battery recharging kit is supplied, permitting the batteries to be recharged from 120 volt AC or 240 AC commercial power sources. The recorder/reproducer magnetic wire transport is driven by a spring motor. The accessories include all devices necessary to test and adjust the equipment for proper operation; a concealable antenna for use on the person; adapter cables and fittings to connect the transmitter or receiver to a mobile antenna; and a microphone which is also used as a speaker for the reproduce mode of the magnetic wire device.

In the transmitter kit the major accessory is a device which is used to transcribe a message onto the recorder/reproducer in preparation for transmission. The device, when attached to the transmitter, makes mechanical and electrical connections to the transmitter. When so attached, it permits the recorder/reproducer spring motor to be wound. It provides electrical connections to permit the use of the microphone to record a message onto the recorder/reproducer. The attachment also contains a speed controller which causes the recorder/reproducer to operate at normal speed while recording. After recording, the message can be

played back for review. An erase function is also provided. When the recording is complete, the spring motor is rewound and the accessory is detached. The transmitter case may then be closed and the equipment is ready for use. When making the "electronic meet" with the associate, the agent who desires to transmit need carry only the transmitter, the antenna, and a "push-to-operate" switch, all of which can be easily concealed on the person.

The receiver kit is similar to the transmitter kit in that it is complete with all necessary accessories including the major one; that is, the attachment providing for spring winding, speed control, reproduce, and erase functions. When the magnetic wire has been cleaned (erased) and the spring motor has been wound, the accessory is detached. The receiver case is then closed and is ready for use. The receiver is slightly smaller than the transmitter and can easily be concealed on the person complete with antenna and "push-to-operate" switch. It should be noted that the recipient does not listen to the message during reception, therefore, no ear piece is necessary. The unit is completely concealed on the person.

The receiver is not activated until both parties are in the vicinity of the "electronic meet" area. Once the receiver is activated, it will operate for approximately 15 minutes before depletion of the battery power supply (according to NY694-S*). The wire recorder is activated upon receipt of the radio signal from the companion transmitter. When the transmitter is activated, a tone signal is first transmitted which activates the receiving recorder; the tone signal is followed immediately by the message text. During the exchange of information, the transmitter is automatically timed for a transmission interval of 10 seconds, during which time the recorder/reproducer devices in both transmitter and receiver are operating at high speed; that is approximately 10 times normal speed.

Having received a message, the receiver is then opened under secure cover, and the accessory is attached to provide the motor winding, speed control, reproduce, and erase functions as mentioned above. The reproducer then operates at normal speed and the message is monitored.

Provision is made for emergency erase if necessary. If the case is opened and closed immediately, the recorder/reproducer will automatically erase the intelligence.

If, at the time of the meet, it is desired to execute a bilateral exchange of messages, each individual must carry a transmitter and receiver. Even so, the equipment is easily concealable on the person.

As mentioned above, accessories are provided to permit connection to a mobile or a fixed antenna so the "meet" may be a completely mobile, or a "drive-by" operation.

The operating frequency was measured on several separate transmissions. The frequency is slightly unstable, but the range of frequency was measured as 117.33 Mc/s to 117.36 Mc/s. The frequency stability is more than adequate for reliable operations of this nature. The radiated power is of the order of 100 milliwatts, which is adequate for a nominal range of 100 meters, when concealed on the person. This is the range stated by NY694-S*.

Generally the operating procedures described above were supplied to New York Office personnel by NY694-S*. These procedures were verified in the Laboratory and several test transmissions were made. An "off-the-air" recording was made for future reference, and photographs were made of the equipment. Copies of the photographs are attached for your records.

All equipment has been returned to your office via courier.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/16/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

For the information of the Bureau, set forth below is the current itinerary for CG 5824-S* at the start of the 16th Solo mission:

On Monday, 10/19/64, CG 5824-S* will depart at 10:00 AM from John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, via TWA Flight #702 to arrive London, England, 9:35 PM the same date. During the course of his stay in London, England, the informant has accommodations at the London Hilton from 10/19/64 to 10/23/64. On Friday, 10/23/64, the informant will depart London Airport at 4:10 PM via British European Airways Flight 918 to arrive Prague, Czechoslovakia, 5:50 PM the same date. As the Bureau is aware, travel arrangements for the informant from Prague to Moscow, USSR, are handled by the Central Committee, Communist Party(CP) of Czechoslovakia, and his specific route of return to the U.S. is subsequently a matter of direction by members of the Secret Service, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union.

Of course, as the Bureau is aware, during the course of the 16th Solo mission, CG 5824-S* is accompanied by his wife, CG 6653-S. They are travelling under the identities (previously used) of HAROLD M. and GENKA JULES, 524 Fifth Avenue, DesPlaines, Illinois.

1-4(3) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago
WAB:mec
(4)

REC-23 100-428091-42 30

OCT 21 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 OCT 27 1964

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

REC-23 3,5,6,8,9

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 9/28/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

5- (LAST)

On 9/28/64, NY 694-S* furnished the following information to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON.

At 7:05 p.m. on 9/25/64, NY 694-S* met his Soviet Contact VLADIMIR A. CHUCHUKIN in the area of the "Uncle Elliott" rendezvous. The meeting lasted approximately two and one-half hours all of which time they discussed matters while walking on the street in the vicinity of the rendezvous area (Avenue J, Brooklyn, NY).

At the outset of the meeting, NY 694-S* handed CHUCHUKIN a metal box containing microfilm on which were one ciphered and several partially coded messages the plain text of which is as follows:

1-d 3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(AM-RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
1 - NY 105-45740 (VLADIMIR CHUCHUKIN)(341)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JDO:rvs
(11)

REC-23 100-428091-423

6 OCT 21 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

CC FBI OCT 27 1964

NY 100-134637

Central Committee - Confidential

A conference of CPUSA National Board took place on September 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, the first session which was held in secret. The agenda was:

1; The situation in the World Communist Movement and the convening of the preparatory Editorial Commission being held in Moscow on December 15th.

2; The mobilization of the masses in the struggle against Goldwater and the ultras during the last phases of the presidential election campaign.

GUS HALL delivered the report on the first part of the agenda and introduced a draft statement endorsing the conference (editorial commission) and also proposing that our CPUSA send delegates. We have not decided whether we can do this publicly or if we may have to send "observers" to this conference because of legal restrictions and the political "climate" in USA at this moment. The draft statement is still to be voted upon by CPUSA National Board. Those who will be selected to attend the Moscow conference will be asked to come in time to participate in the November celebration of the Great October Revolution.

CPUSA is issuing another presidential election statement. Originally we were going to put forth a platform of demands. These demands will now be contained in this statement. CP member, ARNOLD JOHNSON, made the report on the National elections. The statement most likely will appear in the next few days, and, therefore, will not burden you with its contents now.

A small committee is also working on the WILLIAM ALBERTSON case. We will not write to you about the details of this case now, but when MORRIS CHILDS will see you in Moscow in the near future, MORRIS CHILDS will take up the various aspects of this case with you.

This is only for eyes and ears of your Central Committee.

NY 100-134637

Central Committee

Dear Comrades:

First may I extend to you my heartfelt thanks for the concern and interest you showed to our beloved ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN in the days of her fatal illness and also in the manner which you kept both myself and MORRIS CHILDS informed to the very last moment. To us this was the very embodiment of true fraternalism and this we conveyed to our Secretariat and will do so also to the CPUSA National Board. Dr. EPSTEIN upon his return described in detail as to what was the cause of death and also the heroic efforts that were made in trying to save the life of our dear and beloved ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN. Again our heartfelt fraternal thanks in this and the aftermath of her death both by dear Comrade KHRUSHCHEV and your Central Committee and the high honors bestowed before your Party and the people of USSR.

Also, Dr. EPSTEIN described the honors which you paid to him and the presentation of the gift which to him and to us was a symbol appreciation and fraternalism.

When MORRIS CHILDS, who will see you soon, will in person convey this sentiment and expression this true fraternalism. He will do so not only for myself and for our Secretariat but for our entire Party.

I extend my hand to each and every one of you.

GUS HALL

In answer to your request that JAMES ALLEN speak at Scientific Session 100th International Anniversary to be held in Moscow representing CPUSA, we enthusiastically agree that he make speech and be our representative.

GUS HALL

To Central Committee

In reference to JAMES ALLEN and International Publishers and the royalties question which he raised with you. It is

correct that ALLEN and you discuss such questions pertaining to International Publishers and royalties, but in order not to establish separate and independent centers of finances, we must again urge that all monies be sent through the closed channel. If ALLEN faces some immediate problems of finances on travel and needs expenses so to travel for International Publishers, please advance him the amount needed.

It is true that there are some publishing house debts and in order to help them we have just loaned them some money to overcome the immediate problem that International Publishers has here. In the last 3 or 4 years we have been conducting a continuous campaign to get all financial matters under strict and tight control and one of the factors that contributed to past troubles and problems was the ability of different institutions to raise money in the socialist countries in a way which was impossible where we had no control. This briefly explains why we feel necessary that we handle all financial matters in this manner.

GUS HALL

Would it alleviate ALLEN's problem of travel expense if he were to be put on our Central Committee quota?

Central Committee Confidential

I am drafting a letter which we will send to Chinese Central Committee. This will be the first letter of its kind from our Party since their editorial attack against us. This letter will be strictly private and will contain every possible argument reflecting that Chinese CP cannot afford to stay away from the preparatory commission meeting which will be held in Moscow on December 15. Our letter and our arguments to them will hinge on our struggle against American imperialism. It is in a draft

form now and when it is finalized we will send you a copy. Later, after they have received this letter, we may also send a copy of this letter to those Parties who are hesitant and will not come to the December 15th conference.

GUS HALL

Dear Comrades:

Please expedite for me the following. Send this official request on my behalf to Czechoslovakian (repeat Czechoslovakian) Washington Embassy that based upon their Czechoslovakian CP Central Committee who gave permission for Comrades OTTO WANGERIN and his wife SYLVIA MARIE WANGERIN to come to Czechoslovakia for rest. This okay was transmitted to our Party by Comrade MILOSLAV JANDIK in Prague last June 5th. That Czechoslovakian Washington, D.C. Embassy immediately mail to OTTO WANGERIN and SYLVIA MARIE WANGERIN whose passport number is E 681122 issued on July 7, 1964, 2 visas for Czechoslovakia. They will pay their own fares to Czechoslovakia. They will leave immediately upon receipt of these visas. Also that Czechoslovakian Washington, D.C. Embassy notify Czechoslovakia CP Central Committee that these two Comrades will arrive four days from the issuance of the visas. That they please be met in Prague by the Central Committee representatives.

Their address is:

3125 SOUTH RIDGEWAY AVENUE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

We wish to stress the following: that their going to Czechoslovakia for medical treatments and rest is a most important political question in our Party, for Wangerin has always been an important active Comrade in our Party

throughout the many years and a close co-worker of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, that recently representatives of Chinese CP in USA have approached OTTO WANGERIN and his wife asking them that they come of guests for medical treatment and rest to China. Of course, he has refused, but we wish to call to your attention that any further delay may press him in that direction and this to us would be a defeat from many angles which I am sure you will well understand. Therefore, I stress the expediting of this visa as soon as possible to them.

MORRIS CHILDS
International Affairs
Committee, CPUSA

In answer to your request for 1965 radio program, request you program contacts between 9:~~00~~a.m. and 2:00 p.m. New York time. Change November and December 1964 times to conform to above.

Central Committee

It was with regret to have learned that you are disappointed that the Negro delegation which is to be headed by Dr. Rev. MILTON GALAMISON has not visited USSR so far. We, too, are disappointed and may we again explain some of the reasons why this delegation did not come.

It would, of course, been most opportune for all concerned had Dr. GALAMISON received the invitation in the fall of 1962 when he first expressed a desire to see the USSR and to visit various ethnic peoples and study their lands. You will recall at that time that as we were told, there was no quota for such a delegation. We, therefore, requested the same invitation in 1963 and in 1963 it was sent by the Uzbek Republic and we thought at the time (and still do) that this would not be the best way for a delegation of that character to be invited by the Uzbek (and we say this with deep respect both to you and the Uzbek Central Committee). We then spoke

with you and explained the reasons as to why it would be best that this invite should not come from that direction, etc. Most of our Negro comrades objected to the form of your original invitation. They were and still are of the opinion as we are that the invitation should have come from the USSR. Of course, they would have been happy to accept invitations to the Uzbek Republic and other Republics, once having arrived into the Soviet Union.

To this you agreed and in our request, too, at the time I urged that perhaps it would be best that your Washington, D.C. Embassy (the Cultural attache, etc.) extend this invitation in person directly to Dr. Rev. GALAMISON and in this way all would be happy and that this delegation would accept it at the time (late spring 1964-early summer 1964). We therefore were waiting and so was Dr. GALAMISON for the invitation to come to him in that manner. This we were assured at the time would be so. Instead, three months later JESSICA SMITH of National Council of American-Soviet Friendship handed to ARNOLD JOHNSON an invitation in writing from your Washington, D.C. Embassy who in turn handed this over to JAMES JACKSON and JAMES JACKSON in turn handed this over to me and I in turn handed it back to him and disappointingly JAMES JACKSON handed this invite to Dr. GALAMISON. Again, we were puzzled and bewildered in the manner that this invitation was handed to JESSICA SMITH and to other people. Please understand also that since the first proposal of 1962 for Dr. GALAMISON to visit you he has become a more influential leader of his people than ever before, that he is so occupied and involved in the Freedom movement that time is of the essence and it is not easy for a leader of that caliber to just pack and leave for a visit which would take many weeks. Our disappointment is from the direction that had this invite of this influential Negro leader been understood from the very beginning, this would not have taken place in that way, also we and you would have benefitted by this genuine mass Negro leader's visit to USSR.

GUS HALL

NY 100-134637

Acknowledging PAUL NOVICK's coming to USSR, as guest of Literaturnaya Gazeta. Please give him his visa as you agreed when he is in France.

GUS HALL

The following will be his schedule of travel:

Comrade PAUL NOVICK's Schedule of Travel

Approximate Plan of Trip

First week of October -- Auschwitz trial at Frankfurt, Germany.

October 10 - 20, press celebrations of Naye Presse in Paris, to which editors of progressive papers in various lands were invited.

October 20 - November 4 -- guest in the German Democratic Republic

November 5 and following 2½ months in the Soviet Union, in Moscow (20½ weeks), Kiev, Odessa, Minsk, Wilnius, Riga, Leningrad, Tshrnovitz, as well as Volgograd, to visit factories, institutions, meeting Jewish writers in Moscow and the other cities, interviewing personalities, mainly Jews, in positions of state, army, industry, on the cultural field.

Subjects: Socialist construction, welfare of workers, role of Jews in the various fields of activity, how and how many Jews were saved during the war, trend of building Jewish culture in Yiddish, Russian and other languages, struggle against anti-semitism (through the building of new society, education, Jewish literature in Russian etc., and other means), visiting synagogues, etc.

To write articles and send cables with the view of publishing a book in English to refute the slanders and discuss and describe the situation in a realistic way.

En route from USSR - in Poland for about 2-3 weeks, to witness the accomplishments of 20 years of Peoples Poland and life of the Jewish community (I was in Poland after the war, in 1946, when Warsaw was still in ruins and was active for three months in helping the Jewish leadership).

Please Note!

STELLA TARLOVSKY who is not being invited with the Chicago group going to USSR being led by Comrade HARBIN of the Russian Mutual Aid Society of Chicago - She STELLA TARLOVSKY should be allowed to come to USSR and travel with this group. Her mistaken views can be corrected in the process of discussion. Please notify your Washington, D.C. Embassy of this.

MORRIS CHILDS, GUS HALL and
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT of Chicago
Party

Please Note!

We wish to call to your attention of one of the most important youth we have today and that you please consider the request we ask for him and of course his wife.

[redacted] from mid-west USA, [redacted] a devoted Comrade in [redacted] and every inch a leader, he is a brilliant mathematician and a leader of the youth in the mid-west. When on his way to the National Youth Conference he met with an automobile accident and was hospitalized--- He is fully recovered but needs medical treatment and rest so to get back in perfect health. He would be accompanied by [redacted] and [redacted] You will get further details later but meanwhile we ask that you ask your youth (Komsomol) to accept him as their guest or your USSR Central Committee.

b6
b7C

MORRIS CHILDS &
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Your answer on this is awaited.

NY 100-134637

Please Note!

The following samples are material which I am holding so to give to you (unless you have it) I can give this to you through our second (2nd) channel------let me know???????

JACK BROOKS

Do you have any extra cigarette containers??

Uncle Elm next sister
Mathilda next.

In addition to the microfilmed messages, NY 694-S* advised CHUCHUKIN, orally, that GUS HALL was in the midwwest taking up election matters and may have an emergency message for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. NY 694-S* advised CHUCHUKIN to remain alert for the reception of such message.

During the meeting between NY 694-S* and CHUCHUKIN, while they were strolling for 2½ hours in the vicinity of the rendezvous area, the following matters were discussed:

CHUCHUKIN then told NY 694-S* that there had been a change with respect to the date of delivery to NY 694-S* of the communications apparatus such as the walky-talky, the Micro-transmitter and receiver, the new container, etc. He said that he would deliver to NY 694-S* the aforesaid apparatus on 10/2/64 at 2:40 p.m. at the Midland Trust Building, New York, where he previously had delivered to NY 694-S* in August 1964 the sum of $300,000.00. He instructed NY 694-S* to bring with him a brown leather suitcase, which the informant had used on the previous occasion, and to have within the said suitcase an empty brown package which should be somewhat larger than a shoebox. He said that upon their meeting he would give to NY 694-S* the communications apparatus and would take from NY 694-S* the empty package. He instructed NY 694-S* further that there was to be no talking during this particular meeting.

CHUCHUKIN then said that "uncle" meetings (personal contacts) would begin again in January 1965 and that the informant would be notified by radio with respect to the exact date of such contacts. He stated that the "uncle" meetings in the future will be (1) ARMSTRONG, (2) ELM and (3) ELLIOTT. He said further that the January meeting would be at the Townhouse Restaurant (Uncle ARMSTRONG) located at 143rd Street and Queens Boulevard, Long Island, and that the time of the meeting would be at 7:05 p.m. He stated that the meets would occur in order, ARMSTRONG being the first and following Uncle ELLIOTT.

CHUCHUKIN then told the informant that he was giving the latter two new "sisters" (drops). The first, CAROL, is the BMT Station of the Brighton Line located at Avenue M in Brooklyn. He told NY 694-S* that at this station the latter was to walk up the stairs leading to the platform from which trains go to Manhattan. He stated that at the top of the first landing on this stairway, there is a main upright beam at a level with the handrail. There are six three-inch pipes running parallel at this point. The informant is to put a magnetic container behind the second pipe from the bottom. This is to be done at 7:15 p.m., and at 9:15 p.m. NY 694-S* is to be in the area of the telephone MU 4-8694 to listen for three rings on the phone, which will indicate that the above-named drop has been cleared.

The second drop is DORIS, which is located at the Mount Eden Station of the Woodlawn-Jerome IRT line. The informant is to walk up the stairs leading to the uptown platform, and on the first landing, at handrail level, he will observe a very large "T" beam. He is to put the magnetic container behind the rail on the back part of the "T" beam. This should be done at 7:15 p.m. also and acknowledged in the same fashion as Sister CAROL. The order

of drops is to be: Sister MATILDA, Sister CAROL and Sister DORIS.

With respect to the walky-talky operation, signal time was agreed to be between 9:09 p.m. and 9:15 p.m. on Tuesdays and Thursdays. In the ev ent that NY 694-S* should desire to make a drop arrangement, he is to signal three sets of double dots, which would indicate to the Soviets that he desires a drop at 7:15 p.m. on the following evening. If the informant should desire a personal contact on the following evening, he is to signal four dashes, indicating that he desires a ~~drop~~ *personal* contact at 7:05 p.m. on the following evening.

If the informant desires that there be a Micro-transmission, he will transmit two dashes, indicating that the Micro-transmitter and receiver would be in operation on the following day at 2:40 p.m.

CHUCHUKIN stated that henceforth the code word for the Micro-transmitter and receiver operation will be "brothers" and that the code name for the places where such transmission will be made will be "girls." The first place, in order, for Micro-transmitter and receiver operations will be Goldsmith Brothers Department on Nassau Street. At 2:40 p.m. the Soviet will be in the Men's Shirt Department of Goldsmith Brothers and exactly at 2:40 p.m. he will press his receiver. At 2:45 p.m., NY 694-S* was to press his transmitter button, transmitting a message, and then move away for a distance of 50 to 75 feet. During this operation, there is to be only visual recognition between the informant and the Soviet and absolutely no talking. The above operation at Goldsmith's will be given the code word "Goldie."

The second locale for the Micro-transmitter and receiver operation is to be the Woolworth Store at 42nd Street and Third Avenue, this operation to have the code name "Woolie." CHUCHUKIN told NY 694-S* that at 2:40 p.m. he would be in the picture frame section near the 41st Street entrance of the said store and that NY 694-S* should enter the store and go to the area of the lunch counter, which is in the vicinity of the picture frame section. CHUCHUKIN stated that at 2:40 p.m. sharp, he would press his receiver switch and at 2:45 p.m. NY 694-S* should press his transmitter. CHUCHUKIN noted that this operation was only for transmission by NY 694-S* to the Soviets. He stated that if the Soviets desire to transmit at times in this fashion to NY 694-S*, he would be notified in advance to that effect by radio.

Regarding the area in which NY 694-S* will engage in the walky-talky operation, CHUCHUKIN stated that a highly desirable area would be that on 65th Street between Park and Third Avenues. He said it would be best to stay away from the streets north of 65th Street.

With respect to radio messages sent by the Soviets to NY 694-S*, CHUCHUKIN stated that if the Soviets specifically requested NY 694-S* to acknowledge receipt of a radio message, he should telephone at 7:05 p.m. to the following telephone numbers in the following order:

October and November	MU 6-9383
December and January	WA 9-9482
February and March	YU 9-9112

In the event that radio reception should be bad as a result of which NY 694-S* were unable to receive a message, the informant is to put a ~~similar~~ piece of black tape on the bottom right side of a street window of the Peerless Camera Company at 43rd Street. The specific window to be used will be recognized by the fact that it is the one used for NIKON display. CHUCHUKIN stated he would go there at 2:40 p.m. on each day when there would be a radio transmission and in the event he should find a tape there, he would remove it.

In the event that CHUCHUKIN should desire to contact NY 694-S* on days other than days of radio broadcasts, he will place a small piece of black tape on the wall at the bottom step at an underpass at the Wall Street Station. This underpass is located on the front part of the downtown side of the Wall Street Station. CHUCHUKIN will place the tape at this place at 8:00 a.m., which will indicate to NY 694-S* that the latter is to go to the next drop in order at 7:15 p.m.

The informant and CHUCHUKIN agreed that the secondary channel now in use (ISIDORE NEEDLEMAN) is working very well and that they would continue to use this channel whenever need therefor should arise. NY 694-S* pointed out to CHUCHUKIN that NEEDLEMAN is frequently in the company of the Soviets and that his being in the company of the Soviets for the purpose of utilizing the secondary channel would not arouse any suspicion.

With regard to the second channel, CHUCHUKIN stated ~~stated~~ that in any messages transmitted via the said secondary channel, there should never be any specific reference to the time or place of the next meeting.

NY 694-S* then requested CHUCHUKIN to advise the Soviets that CG 5824-S* would be going abroad soon and requested that the Soviets arrange that floating visas be made available to CG 5824-S* in either Paris or London. He told CHUCHUKIN further to alert the Soviets to the fact that a message would be sent in the immediate future with respect to the details of CG 5824-S*'s going abroad.

After this conversation, the informant and CHUCHUKIN terminated their meeting.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 10/16/64

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SOLO
IS-C

Re telephone call to Bureau instant date.

On the night of 10/15/64, NY 694-S* advised that he received, that night, from ISIDORE NEEDLEMAN, by way of the "second channel," the "Winston Cigarette Container" containing a microfilm message from the Soviets. The message is in partial code and the plain text of it is as follows:

"Most Urgent

"From Central Committee to Gus Hall

"Central Committee of Communist Party, SU, considers it necessary to inform you that Comrade Khrushchev asked Central Committee of SU to release him from the duties of the First Secretary and the member of the Presidium of Central Committee and the Chairman of Council of Ministers.

1-AM 1-113M
1 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC- 26
EX-102
100-428091-4232
6 OCT 22 1964

ACB:mfd (#41)
(10)

Memo-Belmont to Sullivan 10-16-64
Letter to Whitehouse + AG 10-16-64

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 OCT 27 1964

"His request was motivated by his old age and by deterioration of his health. On October 14 conference of Central Committee complied with the request of Khrushchev and released him from his duties. Conference of Central Committee designated Comrade Breznev, L.I., as the First Secretary of Central Committee, SU. Comrade Kosygin, A.N., was nominated as the Chairman of the Councils of Ministers by the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Official announcement will be made on October 16. Conference of Central Committee stressed unanimously that course of XX, XXI and XXII Congresses, the programme of CPSU are firm guides for our CP. Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the policy of strengthening world peace and friendship between peoples will be invariable course of our CP and state now and in the future. As before Central Committee, CPSU, will do everything possible for further development and strengthening of brotherly relations with the Communist Parties for consolidation of Communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, declaration and statement of Moscow conferences. Central Committee of CPSU expresses confidence that our brotherly connections with the Communist Parties based on principles of proletariat internationalism will get stronger in the name of our common cause.

"P.S. Gus Hall is cordially invited to attend our national holiday reception in New York"

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

10/13/64

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (65-38100)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-129629)

SUBJECT: WILLIAM ALBERTSON
IS - C; ISA of 1950
(OO: NY)

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION HEREIN SINCE BY ITS NATURE IT TENDS TO IDENTIFY NY 694-S*, A VALUABLE INFORMANT, AS THE SOURCE THEREOF. UNLESS THIS INFORMATION IS OBTAINED FROM A SOURCE OTHER THAN NY 694-S*, IT SHOULD NOT BE INCORPORATED - EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM - IN THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF A REPORT.

On 10/13/64, NY 694-S* furnished the following information to SA ALEXANDER C. LURLINSON:

On the evening of 10/9/64, NY 694-S*, in a meeting with GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, was told by the latter that DANNY RUBIN had returned from Moscow. HALL was in a particularly bad mood, according to the informant, indicating that RUBIN had brought back bad news. The informant asked HALL

4 - BUREAU (RM)
(1 - 100-428091) (SOLO)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (SOLO) (41)
1 - NY 100-129629 (42)

ACB:mfd
(9)

100-428091-
NOT RECORDED
133 OCT 26 1964

65 OCT 29 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 65-38100 (423)

What RUBIN had told HALL with respect to the Soviet analysis of the ALBERTSON letter and HALL replied very angrily that he would not talk about the matter except to say that the Russians had indicated that as regards the ALBERTSON letter, HALL "had been taken" and that the letter would cause "a lot of trouble." HALL stated that this ALBERTSON matter "had broken his heart" and that he did not desire NY 694-S* to mention it again to him.

On 10/13/64, NY 694-S* again conferred with GUS HALL, advised the latter that the Soviets had sent a radio message to the effect that they would deliver to the CPUSA soon the sum of $100,000, which had been requested from the Soviets for the CPUSA. At this meeting according to the informant, GUS HALL, who was in a much more mellow mood than he had been on 10/9/64, swore NY 694-S* to secrecy and, with respect to the ALBERTSON letter, stated that the Soviets had informed DANIEL RUBIN that merely looking at the ALBERTSON letter was sufficient for them to realize that it was a forgery. The Soviets had said to RUBIN, according to HALL, "Why didn't you read it? If you had, you would have known from the beginning that it was a forgery."

HALL stated that the whole "plot" had originated in Nassau County where he feels the FBI has had "nest of informants" for sometime. HALL stated, however, that he cannot publicly admit now that the ALBERTSON letter is a forgery.

In his opinion, he stated there are probably no more than 50 handwriting experts in the USA; when the FBI prepared this forged ALBERTSON letter, the FBI had contacted these experts and advised them with respect to what anaylsis they should make in the event the ALBERTSON letter should be submitted to them for examination. These experts were told by the FBI to state that the letter was "authentic."

HALL stated that he will give the original ALBERTSON letter to CG 5824-S* to deliver to the Soviets in Moscow and that the Soviets would analyse the letter and verify their opinions with respect to the authenticity of the document.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 10/19/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

5- Albany

This is to advise that CG 5824-S* departed on his current SOLO mission on TWA Flight 702 which departed from Kennedy International Airport at 10:00 A.M., this date.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(AMR)
(1 - 134-46)
1 - NY 66-6989 (#41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (#41)

GEJ:IM
(7)

REC-26 100-428091-4233

EX-102 OCT 22 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 OCT 27 1964

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 19, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant, NY 694-S*, who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/19/64 transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

FJC:mmg
(8)

REC- 26

100-428091-4234

EX-102

6 OCT 22 1964

65 OCT 27 1964

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-13-2012

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

(SI) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Solo

Date: October 21, 1964

1 - Mr. Reddy
1 - Mr. Atkinson
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

10/22/64 declassified OSTS

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The following information, supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

The Communist Party, USA, considers the meeting of Communist Parties of Latin and Central America scheduled to be held in Havana, Cuba, in November, 1964, to be most important. The Communist Party, USA, has not been officially invited to attend this meeting. However, the Party plans to send James Edward Jackson, editor of "The Worker," East Coast communist newspaper, and member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, to this meeting as an accredited news correspondent.

MAILED 30
CC ONLY
OCT 22 1964
COMM-FBI

EX-100 REC 4 100-428091-4235

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, we have classified this communication "~~Top Secret~~."

OCT 22 1964

1 - Director BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

To Mr. D. Romo CIA - 10/22/64

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

~~TOP SECRET~~

OCT 20 1 09 AM '64

RCP:pah
(9)

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

OCT 20 4 13 PM '64

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

65 OCT 27 1964

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source, who is of continuing value, and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source is NY 694-S*, who is referred to as "sources" to further protect his identity. Information extracted from New York airtel 10/13/64; captioned "Solo, IS-C."

SAC, New York (100-86624) 10/21/64

Director, FBI ~~(100-3-81)~~ 100-428091

1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Shaw

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 10/9/64.

Relet refers to recent Bureau instructions concerning the discontinuance of all mail covers, and requests the Bureau's advice as to whether a mail cover placed on Post Office Box 209, Church Street Station, New York City, which box is under control of the New York Office, should be discontinued.

In view of the fact that Post Office Box 209 is under the control of your office, the coverage afforded this box does not come within the criteria of a mail cover. You are, therefore, authorized to continue your coverage of Post Office Box 209.

1 - Chicago

1 - 100-428091 (Solo)

NOTE:

In July, 1964, the [redacted] requested us to provide discreet coverage of Post Office Box 209, Church Street Station, New York City, in view of the fact that [redacted] sources learned that the Communist Party of Canada was forwarding correspondence to the CPUSA via this box. Post Office Box 209 is a mail drop utilized by NY 694-S* to receive mail from Norman Freed, Canadian CP official. In order not to jeopardize the security of NY 694-S* we advised [redacted] that we had placed discreet coverage on Post Office Box 209 and would advise relative to the receipt of communications at this box which emanated from Canada. Since Post Office Box 209 is under the control of the New York Office, the coverage being afforded this box was not placed with the post office authorities, and, therefore, does not come within the criteria of a mail cover. In view of the foregoing, New York is being authorized to continue its coverage of this box. b7D

WGS:pah
(7)

DUPLICATE YELLOW

70 OCT 22 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-81-10152

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-81) 10/9/64

SAC, NEW YORK (100-86624)

CP,USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS - C

Rebulet 8/21/64; Bulet 8/24/64 under caption SOLO, IS-C, and NYlet 9/21/64.

The referenced communications concern a mail cover placed on Post Office Box 209, Church Street Station, New York, N.Y., which box is under control of the New York Office.

In view of recent Bureau instructions concerning the discontinuance of all mail covers, the Bureau is requested to advise its instructions regarding this matter.

3 - Bureau (RM)
(1 - 100-428091)
2 - Chicago (AMR)
(1 - 134-36-Sub B)
1 - NY 100-134637-Inv. (#41)
1 - NY 100-86624 (#42)

JDO:IM
(7)

1 100-428091
NOT RECORDED
134 OCT 13 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
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Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 19, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

My memorandum of 10/12/64 advised that CG 5824-S* and his wife (CG 6653-S) expected to leave the United States on Solo Mission 16 en route to the Soviet Union on 10/19/64 or 10/20/64. CG 5824-S* is making this Solo Mission to lay the groundwork for the forthcoming preparatory meeting in Moscow scheduled for 12/15/64, with respect to the world conference of Communist parties in 1965, and to discuss with the Soviets the amount of funds that the Communist Party, USA, will require from the Soviets during 1965.

Supervisor Warren Marchessault, of the New York Office, telephonically advised Acting Section Chief Charles D. Brennan that CG 5824-S* and his wife departed at 10 a.m. today from John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, via TWA Flight 702 due to arrive in London, England, at 9:35 p.m., 10/19/64. Informant plans to depart from London on 10/23/64 en route to Prague, Czechoslovakia. Travel arrangements for the informant from Prague to Moscow are handled by the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The specific route of informant's return to the United States is a matter of direction by members of the Secret Service, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

OBSERVATION:

In the light of the recent international situation, it is felt that this trip will be unusually significant in providing information of outstanding value.

ACTION:

For information.

100-428091

WGS:pah
(5)

SECRET INFORMATION

REC-15 100-428091-4236

EX-124

6 OCT 23 1964

65 OCT 27 1964

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

FBI

Date: 10/14/64

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel, 10/8/64, reflecting that a message was sent to the Soviets advising that a number of CPUSA functionaries would attend the November 7th celebration in Moscow of the Russian Revolution. Reference also NY airtel, 10/13/64, reflecting that on 10/9/64, GUS HALL stated that he was having difficulty in inducing top Party functionaries to attend the aforesaid celebration of the Russian Revolution.

On 10/13/64, NY 694-S* advised that GUS HALL had submitted to him a list of CP functionaries who would attend the November 7th celebration in Moscow of the Soviet Revolution. According to HALL, PHIL BART would be in charge of this delegation and either BART or his wife CONNIE would go to Washington, D.C. to obtain from the Soviet Embassy their visas for the aforesaid group.

3 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd (#41)
(7)

REC- 15 100-428091-423 EX-114

6 OCT 23 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

According to HALL, the following individuals would constitute the above-mentioned delegation:

WILLIAM PATTERSON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
Mr. and Mrs. JAMES WEST
Mr. and Mrs. BURT NELSON
Mr. and Mrs. TOM DENNIS
Mr. and Mrs. PHIL BART
ROSCOE PROCTOR
WILLIAM TAYLOR
CARL WINTER
ANTON KRCHMAREK
Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT THOMPSON
GIL GREEN

With respect to the December 15th meeting in Moscow which will be in the nature of a preparatory meeting for the scheduled 1965 meeting of Communist Parties, HALL stated that as yet there has been no final decision made with respect to which CP functionaries would attend this meeting.

HALL further stated that he is thinking seriously of sending CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT to India to attend there the Indian CP Congress scheduled to be held on December 10th. He said upon completion of the Indian Congress, LIGHTFOOT might attend the December 15th meeting in Moscow.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637) 10/16/64

Director, FBI (100-428091) - 4237

1 - Mr. Reddy
1 - Mr. Shaw

REC- 15

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 10/14/64 with copy to Chicago.

Reairtel relates to the contemplated travel abroad on the part of several leaders of the Communist Party, USA. If not already done, communications under individual case captions should be sent to the office of origin and the Washington Field Office in order that the office of origin will be alerted to the possibility of foreign travel and Washington Field will be able to review the passport files.

1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

WGS:pah
(6)

MAILED 7
OCT 15 1964
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

65 OCT 29 1964

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson ✓
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan ✓
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 20, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On 10/19/64, the New York Office furnished the text of a message informant desired to send and requested that it be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished New York on the same date.

The plain text is set forth below. The cipher text is attached.

ADD TO REFEREE (Central Committee) CODE. BREZHNEV WILL BE THOR AND KOSYGIN - INCA.

ACTION:

For information.

ENCLOSURE

REC- 15

100- 428071-6238

6 OCT 23 1964

EX-114

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

FJC:mmg
(9)

65 OCT 27 1964

10/20/64

01589 37902 16291 23129 17021 35248 90441 04380 09599 43658

88727 57902 51179 50826 85302 91115 93904 41861

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-4238

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 21, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

5-

On 10/21/64, the New York Office furnished the text of a message informant desired to send and requested that it be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished New York on the same date.

The plain text is set forth below. The cipher text is attached.

REFEREE (Central Committee) VERY URGENT CONFIDENTIAL - EXPEDITE. HUB (Morris Childs) (repeat) HUB HAS ORIGINAL LEAF (Bill Albertson) (repeat) LEAF LETTER AND SPECIMENS FOR ANALYSIS. BOXER (CPUSA) REFEREE (National Committee) BOW (Secretariat) TO MEET ON LEAF (Bill Albertson) CASE OCTOBER 28. URGENT TUG (radio) YOUR EXPERTS OPINION BEFORE SET DATE (repeat) URGENT. BIRCH (Gus Hall) BOXER (CPUSA) REFEREE (National Committee).

ACTION:

For information.

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

REC. 20 100-428091-4239

PWP:mmg
(9)

EX-102

6 OCT 26 1964

65 NOV 4 1964

10/21/64

85627 44871 37203 87711 95245 83040 61456 42552 09854 26297

16349 42313 27817 52610 85446 30190 83978 33588 53895 26724

17788 12881 56956 70918 97040 19554 40438 94194 94492 92072

98327 95671 29262 21347 93211 18993 77481 30717 88345 55104

50847 14968 35743 55529 09800 71364 16138 85950 41069 80167

41483 78996 77122 75394 73236 80908 66784 74199 26775 75463

14222 96515 10447 82642 34956

12250

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-4239

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106-03

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: September 15, 1964

ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is a Xerox copy of an article authored by TIMUR TIMOFEEV, Deputy Director of the Institute for World Economy and International Affairs and the son of EUGENE DENNIS, deceased former General Secretary of the Communist Party (CP), USA. This article in the Russian language appeared in issue number 12, August, of the Soviet publication "Kommunist," the official theoretical organ of the CP of the Soviet Union. According to CG 5824-S*, this article deals with Japanese relations.

The FBI Laboratory is requested to furnish to the Chicago Office a translation of the enclosed article.

sent with FBI Airtel 9-17-64.

1 - 813 RB

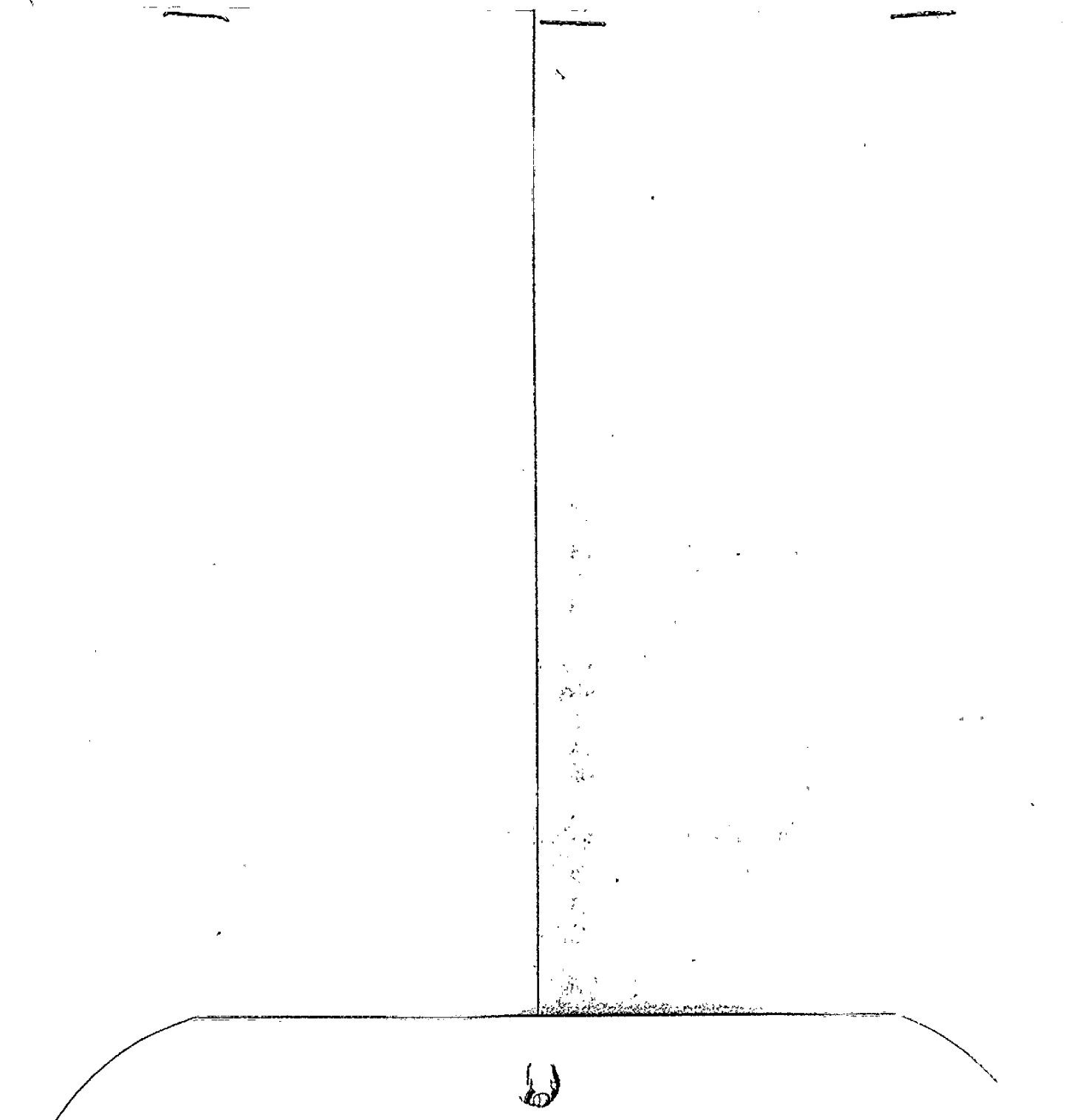
(3) - Bureau (Enc. 1)(RM)
1 - Chicago (Enc. 1)

WAB:bll
(4)

NOT RECORDED
11 SEP 18 1964

SEP 21 1964

65 NOV 2 1964



100-428091-

On Evaluation of the Groups in the Ruling Camp of the U. S. A.

In his time, V. I. Lenin sharply criticized those political leaders, who did not understand the necessity for adopting a skillful policy and flexible tactics in the struggle against imperialism, and who, particularly were not able to see and utilize contradictions between different class groups in the enemy camp. Lenin wrote in his book, "The Child Disease of 'Leftism' in Communism," that diversions among different representatives of the imperialist bourgeoisie "are absolutely unimportant and petty from the point of view of pure, that is, abstract communism, which has not yet matured to practical mass political action. But these differences are extremely important from the point of view of practical action of the masses." (Works, Volume 31, page 75) (Italic is ours -- T. T.).

How urgent these words sound also in our day! They allow the revelation of the erroneous thoughts, which the newspaper, "Akakhata" publishes. For example, the anonymous author of the article in "Akakhata" maintains that allegedly, the struggle of the communists of other countries has a differential approach to various groups and representatives of American imperialism and means, in the end, declaration of the fact that the nature of imperialism has "changed." The publishers of "Akakhata" declare that distinguishing the ruling circles of Western countries into a "war group" and into a group, which advocates peaceful coexistence whether they wish a general nuclear war at present or not, is "a rejection of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism on imperialism, and in an occupation of the counterrevolutionary positions ..." etc.

But it is written in black and white in the Declaration of 1960: "The definite part of the bourgeoisie of the developed Western countries, who soundly evaluate the correlation of forces and serious results of a modern war, also advocate the policy of peaceful coexistence." It is known that representatives of more than 60 communist workers' parties signed the Declaration. Perhaps, "Akakhata" will present them all as "apostates" of Marxism-Leninism and as counterrevolutionaries?"

V. I. Lenin said repeatedly that communists should consider differences and contradictions among different groups and trends, which were existing and which exist among the

monopolistic bourgeoisie in the imperialistic governments. He emphasized that one should have a different approach to the "sound manifestations of the bourgeoisie and of the governments" on one hand, and to the adventure elements, on the other. (Works, Volume 33, page 114).

Lenin teaches that the presence of valid contradictions in the camp of the imperialist bourgeoisie appears quite often as an opposite factor. Such contradictions have objective foundation. Furthermore, a distinction between positions of the individual groups of the dominering classes on this or that concrete problem is unavoidably becoming deeper, especially with the increase of the difficulties encountered by imperialism inside a country and in the international arena.

The editors of "Akakhata" permit rude errors and miscalculations in their evaluations of contemporary imperialism and its policies.

They claim that allegedly, only one, the most aggressive and the most reactionary policy is possible on a social and economic basis (in this case, on the basis of the big monopolist capital). Half a century ago, V. I. Lenin called such a policy, "a caricature of Marxism." Of course, it is characteristic of the monopolies to strive for reaction as long as imperialism exists.

But V. I. Lenin emphasized that this does not exclude at all the fact that different political "superstructures" such as monarchies or republics, are possible under imperialism; that the policy of the bourgeoisie may be different and may consist of open terror or application of the tactics of concessions and reforms. Not only the economic basis but also the correlation of the struggling class groups inside of the country and in the international arena influence the concrete policy of the ruling circles of the capitalist countries, its zigzags and vibrations.

Though, the capitalist class acts usually as one front against the proletariat and the socialist countries, imperialism cannot be presented as something monolithic. Such a schematic and simplified treatment of monopolistic capital of the U. S. A. as well as of any other imperialistic country, is not consistent from an economic or political point of view.

It is known that a monopoly does not liquidate competition. Therefore, different financial and oligarchical competing groups exist in America and in any other country of plutocrats.

The working people and their Marxist-Lenin vanguard are not indifferent as to conditions and the concrete correlation of forces existing in the camp of the imperialist bourgeoisie; to the methods applied by the different bourgeois groups in pursuing their policy; in how far the bourgeoisie is compelled and can proceed in its maneuvering; under what conditions the proletariat and its class organizations conduct their activities, that is, whether under conditions of open fascist policy dictatorship or under the conditions of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. All this is very important for the strategy and tactics of the communist and workers' movement.

Lenin thought that victory over the class enemy could be won only by the most thoughtful, careful, cautious and able utilization .. of any, crack, no matter how small, between enemies; by utilization of any contradiction of interests among the bourgeoisie of different countries and between different groups or types of bourgeoisie inside of individual countries. However, one who did not understand this, one who did not understand a single grain of Marxism and of scientific contemporary socialism in general." (Works, Volume 31, page 52).

Communists should be guided by this Lenin approach in their present evaluations of American imperialism, particularly, in their evaluation of the late President Kennedy. John F. Kennedy had been expressing the interests of the American state-monopolistic capitalism under the new conditions which were caused by a sharp weakening of the U. S. positions in the international arena. He was compelled to consider the rise of the world socialism, which entered the decisive phase of the economic competition with capitalism. One also should not forget that the working class, farmers as well as the middle classes and, in some case, the definite part of the nonmonopolistic bourgeoisie, which is oppressed by the powerful monopolies, oppose monopolistic capital of the U. S. A. The ruling circles of the United States cannot help but consider also the growing struggle of the twenty million Negro people, who demand equality and complete liquidation of the disgraceful system of racial discrimination.

All this has compelled and still compels leaders of the U. S. Government to maneuver. They are obliged now to protect the positions of the American monopolies under social, economic and political conditions, which are more complicated

than before. It is not accidental that Kennedy proposed to the American ruling circles such problems as, for example, the increase of the rate of "economic rise," of the U. S. A.; definite improvement of civil rights for Negroes, and so on. According to his calculations, these and some other propositions should have raised the falling international prestige of the United States.

Can one say, that even John F. Kennedy, during his Presidency, pursued consistently the course, which answered the requirements of the moderate, sound and sensible representatives of the American bourgeoisie? Of course,not. It is enough to mention the invasion of Cuba by the American hirelings; the race for armaments, which was carried out by the Kennedy Administration; the number of nonpolitical undertakings in the spirit of "the cold war," and the persecutions of 1961-1963 of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and of other U. S. progressive forces.

At the same time, it would be wrong to define the policy conducted by President Kennedy, from the position of the most adventurous and aggressive ultrareactionary circles of the American monopolistic capital. Comrade Gus Hall was quite right when he, expressing the opinion of the leaders of the Communist Party, U. S. A., emphasized that "it is necessary to make a proper differentiation between the Kennedy Administration and the ultrarightists." Thus, Gus Hall stated in 1961: "The Kennedy Administration is taking a contradictory course, which is explained by the instability of the imperialist position of the U. S. A., and by the new correlations of forces.... His wavering policy is also the result of the pressure of the wide masses in our country."

Unquestionably, the true Marxists have always approached the various groups of the ruling circles of the U. S. A. differently. Let us recall, for example, that V. I. Lenin discussing "a crisis of the bourgeois parties," in his article, "Results and Meanings of the Presidential Elections in America," (of 1912), did not approach the parties of the American bourgeoisie with the same measure and made a distinction between positions of the three bourgeois candidates, W. Wilson, T. Roosevelt and W. Taft.

To recall also the principal position of the world communist movement on these problems, say in the 1920's. It is well known that leaders of the Communist International insisted upon the necessity for the mobilization of the masses with the purpose of building a single anti-fascist and anti-military front. They emphasized that it is important that

communists differentiate between forms and types of class domination of the bourgeoisie, and individual groupings in the bourgeoisie camp. G. Dimitrov pointed out in his report at the 7th Congress (1935) that ignoring these differences would be a serious mistake; that the working class should be able to utilize frictions skillfully such as the struggle of individual groups in the fascist camp.

This was the time when the leaders of the C. P. C. also did not see anything disgraceful or "adventurous" in a different approach to various political leaders and to various groups of the ruling camp of the U. S. A. For example, Mao Tse-tung stated in his article, "Dangerous Policy of Harley," written in July, 1945, that in his time the late President Roosevelt in the interests of the U. S. A. did not conduct a policy of assistance to Kuomingtang in its armed struggle against the Communist Party of China. When Harley arrived in Yanan in 1944, as a personal representative of President Roosevelt, he approved a plan on abolishing of one party dictatorship of Kuomingtang proposed by the Communist Party of China, and creating a democratic coalition government. Remarking that later, as U. S. Ambassador, Harley had suddenly "made a sharp turn and denied what he said in Yanan," Mao Tse-tung wrote: "Of course, it is not only Harley's personal point of view but that of a whole group of people in the American Government." But this is a wrong and dangerous point of view. At that very time, Roosevelt died. Harley returned from Washington to the American Embassy in Chuntsin beside himself with joy. In those days, representative of the C. P. C. mentioned the danger of Harley's policy and of the policy of the group of the ruling circles of the American imperialists which he represented, on one side, and on the other hand, the fact that "some portion" of the American public was worrying on account of the dangerous policy presented by Harley in China, demanding that it should be changed.

The question is, who was right? Was Mao Tse-tung right in July, 1945, making a distinction between the groups of the ruling class of the U. S. A., and paying tribute to the realistic policy of Roosevelt, remarking that representatives of the more reactionary American imperialism of Harley and others, were happy beyond themselves on account of the death of the American President, or the publishers of "Jen Min Jih Pao" and of "Akahata," criticizing now the right approach of the fraternal parties as "adventurous" and as "sliding" to counterrevolutionary positions?"

Of course, F. Roosevelt, as well as John Kennedy were political leaders of American imperialism. They both strove to protect the positions of the monopolistic capital of the U. S. A. with more or less realistic consideration of changes, which were taking place in the world. Ironically, they both acted objectively in the interests of the ruling class of their country. On a whole, "the new deal" of Roosevelt as well as the Kennedy policy of "the new frontier" protected radical interests of the American state-monopolistic capitalists.

However, it would not be right, to be limited only by these statements. The working class is not indifferent to the methods used for conducting the policy of the ruling monopolistic circles at the moment, or to the concessions these circles are ready to make under the influence of a class struggle of the working people and under the influence of a struggle of the two systems; it is not indifferent to a question on frictions and contradictions, which are roused by such a policy of concessions among different groups of the bourgeoisie.

Do the publishers of "Akakhata" really believe that the working people of America are indifferent as to who will win during the Presidential elections of 1964 in the U. S. A.? Will they assure that the attack of the forces of the extreme reaction, which particularly, was expressed by the seizure of power by the ultraright elements of the Republican Party, does not change anything in the contemporary political life of the U. S. A., and does not raise new problems and goals to be confronted by the democratic forces of America?

Are the publishers of "Akakhata" able to question the validity of the positions of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which was described as follows by Comrade Gus Hall at a mass meeting of July 9, in New York? "If the left wing forces of 1964 will act under the slogan, 'There is No Difference Between the Candidates,' this will be the most effective support for the extreme candidates...." Is there really no difference as to whether a hundred Birchists, who are striving for official positions, will suffer a defeat or not? We believe that there is a big difference.

Communists have no right to ignore the facts, which speak for the activities of representatives of the most reactionary and of the most aggressive circles of monopolistic capital.

Harm of the Neo-Trotskyist Concepts

Indeed, if one will follow the logic of the Chinese leaders and of the observers of "Akahata" one may believe that the taking of power by the ultra-right elements of the imperialistic countries would be most useful to the working classes. A "high ranking" member of the C. P. C. Government (who was interviewed with Che'n Yi, Minister of the Foreign Affairs of the Chinese People's Republic, when he was interviewed by the editor of the Austrian newspaper, "Kurier") made literally the following statement:

"Goldwater would be good for the U. S. A. and for the world, because he would aggravate the internal situation and would speed up the process of its development."

On its own part, publishers of "Akahata" attempt to create some theoretical base for this irresponsible political position. The author of the article, "Kennedy and American Imperialism," criticizes the line of the C. P., U. U., and of other fraternal communist parties for the struggle, first of all, against the reactionary and more aggressive circles of the imperialist camp. Using prorevolutionary phraseology, and following the Peking leaders, the author of "Akahata" "slides down" to the platform of Neo-Trotskyism; in fact, he advocates the Lenin concept, "the worse it is, so much the better it is."

Then, "Akahata" quotes a well-known theory of the classics of Marxism on two methods applied by the bourgeoisie in the struggle for their interests: the method of violence "or of liberal reforms" and the method of concessions; the newspaper points out that lately the American imperialists resort, "depending upon the situation, to one of the methods or apply both methods combined," (generally speaking, it is correct). However, it asserts, literally the following:

"The imperialist 'liberal' policy and the policy of concessions are even more dangerous than the policy of violence."

But who of the Marxists-Leninists will agree with a similar position? Communists never considered methods of pure violence and terror and the policy fraught with war catastrophe as "less dangerous." The Communist Parties instruct the masses in snatching new and important concessions in steady attacks against the bourgeoisie. Communists are against waiting for a

certain "X" day, and against connecting the prospects of an increase in the revolutionary movements with military and economic cataclysms.

It is known that one of the "theoretical points of the false Trotskyist scheme of 'permanent revolution' was an attempt to attribute perspectives for the rise of workers' movement to wars, to terroristic methods of the domineering bourgeoisie, to economic catastrophe and violence, and to different cataclysms, which are characteristic of Trotskyism.

But don't the publishers of "Akahhata" occupy the same position at present? They sabotage the movement for prevention of a nuclear world war. Furthermore, acting according to orders from Peking, they call more openly to replace the ending of the manufacture of nuclear and hydrogen weapons, for giving the right to nuclear weapons for China; their opposition to the Moscow Agreement on the nuclear weapons test ban in the atmosphere is connected with this. This has acquired a form of open opposition to the peace policy of the USSR, and to the course on reducing of international tension. It is not a special secret as to where these trends and theories come from. Mao Tse-tung openly said during a conversation with leaders of the Communist Parties of Latin America:

"I personally like international tension. In some countries a prejudice exists that international tension is not good for the people. But the Communist Parties can be developed faster under conditions of international tension, and the tempos of their development can become more rapid." In reality the newspaper, "Akahhata," is supporting the analogical position.

However, life proves the inconsistency of such reasoning by the advocates of the principle, "The worse it is, so much better it is." Historical experience proves that the forces of extreme reaction can easier attack the proletariat, to weaken its positions, to contaminate the definite classes of working people with Chauvinist poisoning, and to destroy the progressive organizations under conditions of aggravation of international tension. Is it not a fact that the worst revelries of McCarthyism in the U. S. A. and the aggression of forces of extreme reaction in a number of other capitalist countries were observed during the years of the Korean War?

Contrary to this, the facts indicate that under peaceful conditions and during the reduction of international tension, the working class and its allies attain important successes, especially, at present when the correlation of forces has been radically changed on behalf of socialism. During the last few years, without world war and its consequences, the policy of peaceful coexistence has attained successes such as the

revolutionary struggles in Cuba, in Algiers, Yemen and Zanzibar.

During these years, a score of states in Asia and in Africa have attained their national independence. During these years, workers' movements in many imperialistic countries made successful progress, winning one position after another in a steady struggle against oppression by the monopolies. This shows that communists are not indifferent to the concrete conditions under which they have to conduct their struggle. Whether it is in the atmosphere of unruly military hysteria and fascist repression or under more pleasant international and domestic conditions.

The author of the article from "Akakhata" has the wrong approach to the evaluation of these concessions, which are taken by the proletariat in persistent class battles with the bourgeoisie. Is it right to consider such mass struggles as social and economic reforms (including struggles for nationalization, for democratic control over nationalized industries for increasing of the rights of the industrial unions, etc.), in Italy, France, Belgium and Japan, which have greatly increased during the past years?

Of course, making such forced concessions, the ruling bourgeoisie considers its own goals, hoping to stop the class struggle. But Neo-Trotskyists and Marxist-Leninists make the opposite conclusions. These doctrinaires state that the bourgeois and right socialist reformists strive, with the aid of such concessions, to spread illusions and implement "class cooperation" among proletarians. Doctrinaires state that allegedly reforms are "dangerous," and undesirable, and therefore, the working class should not advocate pressure upon the bourgeois governments. Ideologists of contemporary Trotskyism attempt to separate by a "Chinese Wall," the struggle for "final goals" and the present struggle of the masses for important socialist and economic goals. They criticize slogans of the radical elements, and other demands of the fraternal Communist Parties from the "left-opportunistic" and dogmatic positions, stating that at present, the risk of using them by capitalism exists. Following in the footsteps of the Trotskyist ideologists on this question, the author of the article from "Akakhata," advocating the concept of "danger" regarding reforms on the inexpediency of influence of the working class upon bourgeois government, ably separates the struggle of the working people for radical reforms from "the revolutionary struggle against monopolistic capital."

As it is known, V. I. Lenin had a different approach to these questions. He never stated that reforms gained in the course of the mass struggle against the bourgeoisie, could be used by the working class as a basis for further attacks. Lenin emphasized that an active political and economic struggle by the masses "is capable of resulting in real gains for the workers," and "to change partial and hypocritic reforms," on the grounds of a given order, into supporting points of the advancing workers' movement toward a complete emancipation of the proletariat." (Works, volume 15, page 400).

In our days, common democratic and socialist goals of the workers' movement have come even closer. However, present dogmatists ignore an important position, which is in the Declaration of 1960, and which directs the Communists Parties of the capitalist countries in order "to do everything for the protection of interests of the working class and of the people's masses, for improving their living conditions and for increasing democratic rights and freedoms of the people without delaying this until the victory of socialism."

Under the demagogic flag of "defending Leninism" the publishers of "Akahata" rudely misinterpret the Lenin theory of imperialism. This leads, particularly, to untrue and one-sided interpretations of a question on mutual relations between the U. S. A. and other imperialist countries.

In order to distract attention, the authors of the article created a "certain theory of a primary blow at the German-French imperialists," which allegedly is advocated by their opponents. Those, to whom they attempt to attribute this unessential theory, are accused of "justification of the principal enemy, which is American imperialism" But this is the easiest (though not quite the most honest) method of polemics: to reject reasons, which were created by the "critics" themselves. "Akahata" has invented and "sucked from its fingers" such a theory, and now pounces upon its own invention with all its force.

Why is all this needed? Evidently, in order to make propaganda of wrong concepts, which are opposite to the Declaration. The essence of this is the charge of the problem of a struggle against world imperialism, headed by the U. S. A., for a declaration of a struggle exclusively against American imperialism; in keeping a secret and even to manifest active resistance also to any organized system of struggle against West German, English, French and Japanese imperialism.

Such a one-sided and, consequently, wrong approach leads to the wrong course on the questions of the struggle for peace and against the aggressive policy of not only reactionary American circles but, say, of French and West German imperialists, representatives of which attempt to have nuclear weapons in their possession. The position of "Akahata" on these questions, in many cases, rests upon the same inconsistent "arguments," as the theory of the so called, "an interspace zone," with the aid of which leaders of the C. P. C. attempt to justify their course for closer relations with French, West German and Japanese imperialists.

In their turn, such false concepts astonishingly coincide with some faulty "theoretical schemes of Trotsky, who had been attempting to adopt a misinterpreted analysis of imperialism for use in his own anti-Lenin concept on "permanent revolution." Thus, in 1925, Trotsky had been advocating an exceedingly simplified dogmatic idea that allegedly "only two concepts are struggling in the world: "American imperialism," and revolutionary Bolshevism." At the same time, he described the other countries as dependent and passive force. Trotsky ignored the influence of the basic antagonism of the epoch, that is, the antagonism between socialism and imperialism, upon the development of the mid-realistic contradictions. At present, "Akahata," following Trotskyism, also drifts away on this question from the right class positions.

Misinterpretation of the Lenin theory on uneven development of capitalism, on the minimizing of the role of the basic contradiction of the epoch and of its influence upon the rise of contradictions between imperialists -- all this leads to re-evaluation of power and possibilities toward American imperialism. Ignoring new facts in the international policy, "Akahata" denies the obvious facts, on the basis of which the communist movement came to a conclusion that though the U. S. A. remains the first economic and military power of world capitalism, its specific weight in production and trade in the capitalist camp is going down. It is a fact, that for example, earlier (until the 50's) the law on uneven development of capitalist countries facilitated the colossal strengthening of the economic and political positions of American imperialism in the world capitalist system; however, now, at this new stage of general crisis of capitalism, the same law does not act on behalf of the United States.

Where does the wrong course dictated by Peking lead under conditions of a capitalist country? For example, the wrong position taken by the leaders of the Japanese Communist Party in connection with a general strike of the industrial

unions of Japan, scheduled for April 17, 1964, proves where the course dictated by Peking can lead in practical life in a capitalist country. Not long before this date, leaders of the Japanese Communist Party criticized the strike in their speeches, in accordance with the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party (its Plenum, was held in July, 1964); this position was recognized as wrong. The basis of such a wrong position, which led to a prevention of a strike to the joy of the monopolies, was the undervaluation of the importance of the struggle against Japanese monopolistic capital.

Although, ultrarevolutionary slogans of the struggle against American imperialism have been declared many times in words by "Akahata," in reality, its position is saturated with pessimism. Practically, its author does not believe in the ability of the world forces of socialism to subdue imperialism, and to prevent a new world war. Re-evaluation of the possibilities of imperialism, particularly of American imperialism, (to the will of which, allegedly all and everything in the world has been submitted); as well as undervaluation of the forces of world socialism and of the international and Japanese working class, is the real essence of the present position of the publishers of "Akahata." But can communists agree with such a conclusion? Of course, not. Such a wrong position contradicts the revolutionary and well-founded scientific optimism, which permeates the Declaration and Statement of the program documents of Marxist-Leninist parties.

Development of international events, including the latent imperialist activities in Southeast Asia, in Cyprus, against Cuba and the Congo, demands a correct approach on the part of communists to the problems of a struggle against imperialism; it also demands strengthening of unity of all progressive anti-imperialistic forces.

However, C. P. C. "critics" of the general line of the international communist movement and their adherents among the publishers of "Akahata" "slide" down to a dangerous path in this complicated and responsible situation. They lead to dissidence instead of unity. Furthermore, their "anti-imperialism" (which is purely declarative), is being changed in practical life by more and more open active anti-Soviet sabotage actions directed to the disorganization and weakening of the mass democratic movements. For example, this was made evident by the disgraceful anti-Soviet and factional tricks of some Chinese and Japanese leaders against nuclear weapons during the recent Tokyo Conference and also their actions

during the weeks following the conference. So this is the position of the dissenters in practical life; they conduct a verbal struggle with American imperialism, but in fact, they concentrate the main attack against the USSR, the Lenin policy, against C. P., S. U., and against the majority of fraternal Communist Parties.

This anti-Lenin nationalistic position should be exposed in the interests of the working class of all countries. The counteractive measures should be conducted against harmful policy of those, who, under the pseudorevolutionary mask, attempt to split the anti-imperialist front of the modern day revolutionary forces.

Действительная и мнимая борьба против империализма

ПО ПОВОДУ ВЫСТУПЛЕНИЯ ГАЗЕТЫ «АКАХАТА»

Т. Тимофеев

Марксистско-ленинские партии, определяя стратегию и тактику в антиимпериалистической борьбе, исходят из классовых, научно обоснованных позиций, неуклонно придерживаются согласованных выводов и оценок по этим вопросам, сформулированных в Декларации 1957 года и Заявлении 1960 года. Они наметили наиболее действенные в современных условиях пути борьбы против международной империалистической реакции и ее основного оплота — американского империализма. Главное для коммунистов в борьбе против империализма — не ограничиваться словесным осуждением его, а всемерно укреплять революционные силы, их единство и сплоченность для действительной борьбы с ним.

Между тем руководители Компартии Китая и их сторонники стремятся навязать международному коммунистическому движению иной, ненаучный, неленинский подход к этим важным вопросам. В последнее время они опубликовали много «теоретических» материалов, в которых пытаются обосновать свою особую позицию, находящуюся в вопиющем противоречии с выводами Московских Совещаний 1957 и 1960 годов.

К таким материалам относится, в частности, и длинная статья «Кеннеди и американский империализм», опубликованная за подписью «Обозреватель» на страницах газеты «Акахата» *. В этой статье подвергаются критике внешнеполитический курс правительства США, генеральная линия международного коммунистического движения.

Извращать суть вопроса

В статье «Кеннеди и американский империализм» братские компартии бездоказательно обвиняются в том, что они, дескать, «пытаются уйти от борьбы с американским империализмом» и что некая тенденция «воспевания» американского империализма проявилась в международном движении за мир и в коммунистическом движении.

Происхождение этого грубого, целенаправленных, клеветнических утверждений достаточно хорошо известно. Еще за год до этих «открытий» газеты «Акахата» китайская газета «Жэньминь жибао» в марте 1963 года провозгласила: «Совершенно ясно, что в международном коммунистическом движении существуют принципиальные разногласия в вопросе о том, как оценивать американский империализм — этого злейшего врага народов всего мира, и как с ним бороться».

Но авторы этих статей извращают существо вопроса. Ведь действительная суть многостороннего спора в том, бороться или нет против американского империализма. Для коммунистов всех стран нет вопроса, вести или не вести борьбу против международного империализма, возглавляемого США. И это, конечно, очень хорошо знают и обозреватель «Акахата» и редакторы «Жэньминь жибао». Что же касается КПСС, то в полном соответствии с выводами Декларации 1957 и Заявления 1960 года она неуклонно

* Газета Акахата — орган Коммунистической партии Японии.

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руководствуется в своей политике тем положением, что США являются экономическим, политическим и военным центром империализма, что монополистический капитал США стал самым крупным мировым эксплуататором, что американский империализм — главный оплот международной реакции и мировой жандарм. «Правильность этой оценки роли американского империализма, данной в документах Совещаний коммунистических и рабочих партий, — указывал Н. С. Хрущев в речи, произнесенной в Киргизии 16 августа 1964 года, — ярко подтверждают события в Юго-Восточной Азии, и особенно в Тонкинском заливе. Открыто действуя как жандарм, империалистические силы Соединенных Штатов Америки совершили нападение на Демократическую Республику Вьетнам. Они ведут необъявленную войну против народа Южного Вьетнама, душат этот народ. Американский империализм вмешивается во внутренние дела Лаоса...»

Известно, что СССР, проводя активную и гибкую миролюбивую внешнюю политику, добиваясь ослабления международной напряженности, способствует изоляции наиболее агрессивных кругов империализма, прежде всего американского империализма. Советский Союз давал и дает решительный отпор всем агрессивным поползновениям США против революционной Кубы. СССР резко осудил происки империалистов на Кипре. Твердая, принципиальная позиция Советского Союза в связи с недавними провокационными действиями вооруженных сил США в Тонкинском заливе явилась, по заявлению представителя правительства ДРВ, «важнейшим вкладом в борьбу вьетнамского народа против агрессии США».

Эффективная борьба Советского Союза, других социалистических стран против империализма развертывается в многообразных формах: на поприще экономического соревнования двух систем, на международном дипломатическом и идеологическом фронтах; она проявляется в действенной поддержке борьбы трудящихся в других странах, антиимпериалистических, национально-демократических революций в Азии, Африке, Латинской Америке.

Бороться сегодня не на словах, а на деле против мирового империализма во главе с США — это значит прежде всего крепить экономическое и оборонное могущество социалистических государств и успешно строить новое общество; это значит усиливать сплоченность всех революционных, антиимпериалистических сил нашего времени.

Именно таков ленинский курс КПСС, который поддерживается и одобряется абсолютным большинством братских компартий. Но как раз против этого ленинского курса и выступают лидеры КПК и их немногочисленные последователи. Явно преследуя свои фракционные, узконационалистические цели, они силятся противопоставить успехи СССР интересам революционной, антиимпериалистической борьбы трудящихся других стран. Но разве не ясно, что подобные попытки принизить роль той напряженной и всесторонней борьбы, которую ведут против империализма мировые силы социализма, на практике означают капитулянтство перед империализмом! Эта позиция лидеров КПК и их сторонников, по сути, отражает их неверие в конечную победу сил социализма над капитализмом.

В действительности не столько «слепота», даваемая американскому империализму, сколько разный подход к коренным вопросам современного мирового развития, в том числе к проблемам войны и мира, стратегии и тактики революционного рабочего движения в капиталистических странах, взаимодействия всех главных революционных сил современности, служит сегодня водоразделом между лидерами КПК, их немногочисленными последователями и марксистами-ленинцами всего мира. По всем этим проблемам пекинские деятели и их сторонники из редакции «Акахата» отходят от согласованной генеральной линии международного коммунистического движения.

Неправильная трактовка ими американского империализма, его роли в современном мире, методов борьбы против него — лишь одно из проявлений их общей ошибочной позиции, которая подменяет ленинскую линию порочной концепцией в неотроцкистском духе.

Об оценке группировок в правящем лагере США

В свое время В. И. Ленин резко критиковал тех политических деятелей, которые не понимали необходимости проведения умелой, выдержанной политики и гибкой тактики в борьбе против империализма, которые, в частности, не в состоянии были видеть и использовать противоречия между разными группами в лагере классового противника. В книге «Детская болезнь «левизны» в коммунизме» Ленин писал, что расхождения между различными представителями империалистической буржуазии «...совершенно неважны и мелки с точки зрения чистого, т. е. абстрактного, т. е. недозревшего еще до практического, массового, политического действия, коммунизма. Но с точки зрения этого практического действия масс, эти различия крайне, крайне важны» (Соч., т. 31, стр. 75. Курсив наш. — Т. Т.).

Как злободневно звучат и в наши дни эти мудрые ленинские слова! Они позволяют вскрыть корни ошибочных рассуждений, с которыми выступает газета «Акахата». Анонимный автор статьи в «Акахата», например, уверяет, будто стремление коммунистов других стран дифференцированно подходить к различным группам и представителям американского империализма в конечном счете означает провозглашение того, что ...природа империализма «изменилась». Редакторы «Акахата» объявляют неверным разделение правящих кругов западных стран на «воинствующую группу и группу, выступающую за мирное сосуществование, — в зависимости от того, хотят они сейчас или не хотят всеобщей ядерной войны». Такое разделение преподносится не иначе, как «отказ от всего учения марксизма-ленинизма об империализме» и как «занятие контрреволюционных позиций...» и т. д.

Но ведь не где-нибудь, а в Заявлении 1960 года черным по белому записано: «За политику мирного сосуществования высказывается также определенная часть буржуазии ряда капиталистических стран, трезво оценивающая соотношение сил и последствия современной войны» (курсив наш. — Т. Т.). Известно, что Заявлением поставили свои подписи представители свыше [illegible] коммунистических и рабочих партий. Быть может, всех их теперь «Акахата» будет изображать «отступниками от марксизма-ленинизма» и «контрреволюционерами»?..

В. И. Ленин не раз говорил о том, что коммунисты должны учитывать различия и противоречия между [illegible]ями и группировками, течениями, существовавшими и существующими среди монополистической буржуазии, в империалистических правительствах. Он подчеркивал, что нужно по-разному подходить к «благоразумным представителям буржуазии и правительств», с одной стороны, и к [illegible]ым элементам» — с другой. (Соч., т. 33, стр. 114).

Ленинизм учит, что наличие [illegible]обостренных противоречий в лагере империалистической буржуазии не [illegible]ое-то постоянное явление. Такие противоречия имеют объективную основу. Вместе с тем, различие между позициями отдельных группировок [illegible] классов по тем или иным конкретным политическим вопросам усиливается, особенно в [illegible] возрастания трудностей, с которыми сталкивается империализм внутри страны и на международной арене.

Редакторы «Акахата» вместе с [illegible] авторами допускают в своих оценках современного империализма политики грубые ошибки и просчеты. Они утверждают, будто [illegible]льно-экономической

ве — в данном случае на базе ... монополистического капитала — возможна только одна политика — ... самая агрессивная, самая реакционная. Аналогичные взгляды В. И. Ленин не раз высказывал назад называл «карикатурой на марксизм». Конечно, ... существует империализм, монополиям всегда свойственно стремление ... насилию. Но это, подчеркивал В. И. Ленин, отнюдь не исключает ... что при империализме возможны различные политические надстройки ... от открытого террора до республики; что политика буржуазии может быть ... от открытого террора до применения тактики уступок, реформ. Ведь ... экономический базис, но и соотношение борющихся классовых ... страны и на международной арене) влияет на конкретную ... правящих кругов капиталистических государств, на ее зигзаги, колебания.

Хотя весь капиталистический класс обычно единым фронтом выступает против пролетариата и стран социализма, все же нельзя рисовать империализм как нечто монолитное. Такая схематическая, упрощенческая трактовка монополистического капитала в США, как и в любой другой империалистической стране, несостоятельна ни с экономической, ни с политической точек зрения. Ведь известно, что монополия не ликвидирует конкуренции. Поэтому в стане плутократии — и американской и любой другой — существуют различные финансово-олигархические группы, соперничающие друг с другом.

Трудящимся, их марксистско-ленинскому авангарду не безразлично, каково в данный момент положение и конкретное соотношение сил в лагере империалистической буржуазии; какими методами проводят различные ее группы свою политику; насколько далеко вынуждена и может идти она в своем маневрировании; в каких условиях — в обстановке открытой фашистско-полицейской диктатуры или же в условиях буржуазно-парламентской демократии — развертывают свою деятельность пролетариат и его классовые организации. Все это очень важно для стратегии и тактики коммунистического и рабочего движения.

Победить классового противника, учил Ленин, можно только «при обязательном, самом тщательном, внимательном, осторожном, умелом использовании... всякой, хотя бы маленькой, «трещины» между врагами, всякой противоположности интересов между буржуазией разных стран, между разными группами или видами буржуазии внутри отдельных стран... Кто этого не понял, тот не понял ни грана в марксизме и в научном, современном, социализме вообще» (Соч., т. 31, стр. 52).

Именно таким, ленинским подходом должны руководствоваться коммунисты и в своих нынешних ... американского империализма, в частности в оценках политики ... президента США Кеннеди. Джон Ф. Кеннеди выражал интересы американского государственно-монополистического капитализма в ... условиях, вызванных резким ослаблением позиций США на международной арене. Он вынужден был учитывать рост сил мирового социализма, вступившего в решающую фазу экономического соревнования с капитализмом. Не следует забывать и того, что внутри страны монополистическому капиталу США противостоят рабочий класс, фермерство, а также нередко средние городские слои и в некоторых случаях определенная часть немонополистической буржуазии, которых давит всевластие крупнейших монополий. Правящие круги Соединенных Штатов не могут не считаться и с нарастающей борьбой 20-миллионного негритянского народа, требующего равноправия и полной ликвидации системы позорной расовой дискриминации.

Все это заставляло и заставляет руководителей правительства США маневрировать. Они вынуждены теперь защищать позиции американских монополий в более сложной, чем прежде, социально-экономической и политической обстановке. Не случайно Кеннеди выдвинул как первоочередные для американских правящих кругов, например, такие проблемы, как повышение темпов «экономического роста» США, определенное расши-

рение гражданских прав для негров и т. д. Эти и некоторые другие мероприятия, по его расчетам, призваны были поднять пошатнувшийся международный престиж Соединенных Штатов.

Можно ли сказать, что Джон Ф. Кеннеди за время своего президентства последовательно придерживался курса, соответствовавшего требованиям умеренно-трезвых, благоразумных представителей американской буржуазии? Нет, конечно. Достаточно напомнить о вторжении американских наемников на Кубу, о гонке вооружений, которую осуществляло правительство Кеннеди, о ряде шагов в сфере политических мероприятий, выдержанных явно в духе «холодной войны», о продолжавшихся в 1961—1963 годах преследованиях Коммунистической партии и других прогрессивных сил США.

Вместе с тем неверно было бы отождествлять политику, проводившуюся президентом Кеннеди, с позициями наиболее авантюристических, агрессивных, ультрареакционных кругов американского монополистического капитала. Глубоко прав т. Гэс Холл, когда он, выражая мнение руководства Коммунистической партии США, подчеркивал, что «необходимо проводить надлежащую дифференциацию между правительством Кеннеди и ультраправыми». Так, в 1961 году Гэс Холл констатировал: «Правительство Кеннеди проводит противоречивый курс, объясняющийся неустойчивостью империалистической политики США, новым соотношением сил... Его колеблющийся курс является также результатом нажима широких масс в нашей стране».

Бесспорно, что подлинные марксисты всегда подходили дифференцированно к различным группировкам в правящих кругах США. Напомним, например, как В. И. Ленин в известной статье «Итоги и значение президентских выборов в Америке» (1912 год), указывая на «кризис буржуазных партий», подходил в то же время к партиям американской буржуазии не с единой меркой, проводя различия между позициями трех буржуазных кандидатов — В. Вильсона, Т. Рузвельта и У. Тафта.

Напомним и о принципиальной позиции мирового коммунистического движения по этим вопросам, скажем, в 30-х годах. Хорошо известно, что руководящие деятели Коммунистического Интернационала, отмечая необходимость мобилизации масс на создание единого антифашистского, антивоенного фронта, подчеркивали, как важно для коммунистов принимать во внимание различия между формами и разновидностями классового господства буржуазии, между отдельными группировками в буржуазном лагере. В докладе на VII конгрессе Коминтерна (1935 год) Г. Димитров отмечал, что игнорирование этих различий было бы серьезной ошибкой; что рабочий класс должен умело использовать трения и борьбу между разными группами в правящих монополистических кругах, в том числе и борьбу отдельных группировок в лагере самой фашистской буржуазии.

Было время, когда и руководящие деятели КПК не видели ничего зазорного, ничего «оппортунистического» в том, чтобы дифференцированно подходить к различным политическим деятелям и к разным группировкам в правящем лагере США. Например, Мао Цзэ-дун в статье «Опасная политика Хэрли», написанной в июле 1944 года, констатировал, что «покойный президент Рузвельт в свое время в интересах США не проводил политику помощи Гоминдану в его вооруженной борьбе против Коммунистической партии Китая. Когда Хэрли в конце 1944 года в качестве личного представителя Рузвельта прибыл в Яньань, он отнесся одобрительно к выдвинутому Коммунистической партией Китая плану упразднения однопартийной диктатуры Гоминдана и создания демократического коалиционного правительства». Отмечая, что затем посол США Хэрли вдруг «совершил крутой поворот и отказался от того, что говорил в Яньани», Мао Цзэ-дун отмечал: «Разумеется, это не личная точка зрения одного лишь Хэрли, а точка зрения целой группы людей в американском правительстве [illegible]

...най, — Т. Т.), но это ок... ...и пр... ...опасная точка зрения. В ло время скончался Р... Хо... ...ие себя от радости вер...ул...ся ...бю Вашингтона. — Т. Т.) ...ан... ...осольство в Чунцине». В те ...ли ...редседатель КПК увид... ...одно... ...ороны, на опасность «по...ки ...Хэрли» и той группы в п... ...кру... ...мериканского империализма, ко...торую он представлял, а й — от факт, что «некоторая часть» ...американской общественн... ...испыт... ...т беспокойство по поводу опас...ной политики, представляет Хэрли ...итае, и требует её изменения».

Спрашивается, кто же ...раз? ...в ли был Мао Цзэ-дун в июле 1945 года, проводя разл... ...у... ...шировками в правящем лагере США, отдавая дань реали... ...е Рузвельта, отмечая, что пред...ставители более реакцион... ...ли ...риканского империализма (Хэрли и другие) были «вне себя связи с кончиной американского президента? Или же прав... ...кол... Маньминь жибао» и «Акахата», осуждая теперь, правильный ...ход ...ских партий как «оппортунисти...ческий», как сползание ор... ...ционные позиции»?

Как Ф. Рузвельт, так и ей л были, конечно, руководящими политическими деятелями ам... ...империализма. Оба они стара...лись отстаивать позиции мо... ...ти ...кого капитала США с более или менее реалистическим учетом ений, происходивших в мире. Оба они объективно действовали в осн... ...ом в интересах правящего класса своей страны. В целом и «новый курс» Рузвельта и политика «новых рубежей» Кеннеди отвечали коренным интересам американского государственно-монополистического капитализма.

Неверно было бы, однако, ограничиваться только этой констатацией. Ведь рабочему классу не все равно, какими методами проводится в тот или иной момент политика правящих монополистических кругов, на какие уступки готовы пойти эти круги под воздействием классовой борьбы трудящихся и борьбы двух систем, какие трения и противоречия вызывает такая политика уступок между различными группами буржуазии.

Неужели редакция «Акахата» и в самом деле полагает, что для трудящихся Америки и всего мира безразлично, кто победит на президентских выборах 1964 года в США? Неужели она станет уверять, что наступление сил крайней реакции, выражающееся, в частности, в захвате ультраправыми элементами руководства в республиканской партии, ничего не меняет в современной политической жизни США, не выдвигает новых проблем и задач перед демократическими силами Америки?

В состоянии ли редакция «Акахата» оспаривать правильность позиции Коммунистической партии США, которая следующим образом выразил...тов. Гэс Холл, выступая 9 июня на массовом митинге в Нью-Йорке: «Если левые силы в 1964 году будут действовать под лозунгом: «Различия между кандидатами нет», — то это явится самой эффективной поддержкой крайне реакционных кандидатов... Разве действительно нет никакой разницы в том, потерпят поражение или нет сотни бёрчистов, добивающихся официальных постов? Мы считаем, что есть очень большая разница»?

Коммунисты не вправе игнорировать факты, говорящие об активизации представителей самых реакционных, самых агрессивных кругов монополистического капитала.

Вредность неотроцкистских концепций

Правда, если следовать логике китайских руководителей и обозревателя «Акахата», то можно подумать, что приход к власти в империалистических странах ультраправых элементов был бы чуть ли не на пользу рабочему классу. Заявил же недавно один из «высокопоставленных членов правительства КНР» (деливший совместно с министром иностранных дел КНР Чэнь И интервью редактору австрийской газеты «Курир») буквально следующее: «Голдуотер б... ...бы хорош для США и для всего мира, так

как он обострил бы внутреннее п[illegible]ложение [illegible]А и сильно ускорил бы процесс развития».

Со своей стороны, редакция «Акахата» пытается подвести под такого рода безответственные политичес[illegible] позиции некую «теоретическую» базу. Автор упомянутой статьи [illegible]нкеди[illegible] американский империализм» осуждает линию КПСС, других б[illegible]ких коммунистических партий на борьбу прежде всего против наиболее реакционны[illegible] наиболее агрессивных кругов в лагере империализма. Прикрываясь по[illegible]револ[illegible]ционной фразеологией, автор статьи в «Акахата» вслед за пе[illegible]кими лидерами сползает на платформу неотроцкизма, фактически [illegible]оведу[illegible] антиленинскую концепцию «чем хуже, тем лучше».

Так, приводя хорошо извести[illegible] положе[illegible] классиков марксизма о двух методах, применяемых буржуази[illegible] в борьб[illegible] за свои интересы, — методе насилия и методе уступок, или «[illegible]беральных» реформ, «Акахата» сначала указывает (в общем-то правил[illegible]но), что в послевоенный период американский империализм прибегает «в зависимости от обстановки к одному из методов или применяет оба метода в сочетании». Однако далее она утверждает буквально следующее: «Империалистическая «либеральная» политика, политика уступок, представляет собой еще бо́льшую опасность, чем политика насилий».

Но кто из марксистов-ленинцев согласится с подобной позицией? Коммунисты никогда не считали «мен[illegible]е опасными» для трудящихся методы голого насилия и террора, политик[illegible] [illegible]ез[illegible]ой катастрофой. Коммунистические партии ориентиру[illegible]ют[illegible], чтобы еще до победы социализма вырывать в упорной п[illegible]ой борьбе с буржуазией все новые важные уступки. Коммуни[illegible] [illegible]зивного выжидания некоего дня «икс», против увязы[illegible]ания подъема революционного движения лишь с военными и э[illegible]кими катаклизмами.

Известно, что один из «теор[illegible]ных пунктов фальшивой троцкистской схемы «перманен[illegible] как раз и состоял в попытке поставить перспективы [illegible]ционного рабочего движения в зависимость от войн, т[illegible]методов господства буржуазии, экономических катастро[illegible]насилия, всякого рода катаклизмов, войн — характерна[illegible].

Но разве не ту же позицию, [illegible]ают ныне редакторы газеты «Акахата»? Они саботируют д[illegible]дотвращение мировой термоядерной войны. Более того, де[illegible]ие подражание Пекина, они все откровеннее призывают подменить б[illegible]у за [illegible]ещение атомного и водородного оружия борьбой за предоста[illegible]ие Китаю права на ядерное оружие. С этим связана и их отношения М[illegible]скому договору о запрещении ядерных испытаний в трех средах, кото[illegible] стал[illegible] участвовать в открытые выступления против миролюбивой вне[illegible]ой по[illegible]СССР, против курса на ослабление международной напря[illegible]. Идут эти веяния и эти установки, не составляет особого [illegible]. [illegible]ичную нравится международная напряженность», — отме[illegible] Мао Цзэ-дун во время беседы с руководящими деятел[illegible] [illegible] стран Латинской Америки. «В некоторых странах, — [illegible] существует предрассудок, что международная напряженность [illegible]ятна для народов. Но коммунистические партии в условиях [illegible]ждународной напряженности могут развиваться быстрее, темпы их р[illegible] могут быть более ускоренными». Аналогичной позиции придержива[illegible], во [illegible], и газета «Акахата».

Однако жизнь декасыгнет [illegible] подобных доводов проповедников принципа «чем хуже, [illegible] исторический опыт свидетельствует, что как раз в услов[illegible] обос[illegible] международной напряженности силам крайней реакции [illegible] наступление на прогрессивные силы, ослаблять его позиции, зарази[illegible] широкие слои трудящихся шовинистическим угаром, громить [illegible] организации. Разве не

факт, что именно на [] приходится наибольший размах маккартизма в США и [] крайней реакции в ряде других капиталистических стран.

И, наоборот, факты [] обстановке мира и ослабления международной напряж[] рабоч[]асс и его союзники — особенно ные, когда соотношени[] образом изменилось в пользу социализма, — добиваются [] в. Именно в последние годы, без мировой войны и ее после[] в усл[]ях, когда все новые успехи одерживает политика мирного [], победили народные революции на Кубе, в Алжире, Ира[]. Именно в эти годы десятки государств Азии и Афри[] национальной независимости. Именно в эти годы рабочее дви[] во [] империалистических странах успешно продвинулось вп[] одну позицию за другой в упорной борьбе против гнета []. Всегда видно, что коммунистам совсем не безразлично, в [] условиях им приходится вести сегодня борьбу: в атмосф[] военной истерии и фашистских репрессий или же в боле[] международной и внутриполитической обстановке.

Автор статьи из «А[] подходит к оценке тех уступок, которые вырываются пролетариатом в упорных классовых боях с буржуазией. Разве правильно [] массовой борьбы за социальные и экономические реформы ([] за национализацию, за демократический контроль над [] крупными отраслями, за расширение прав профсоюзов и т. д.), [] все более нарастает в последние годы в таких странах, как Италия, [], Бельгия и та же Япония.

Разумеется, идя на подо[] вынужденные уступки, правящая буржуазия преследует свои цели, [] стремясь притупить классовую борьбу. Но из этого факта неотроцкисты [] марксисты-ленинцы делают противоположные выводы. На том «основани[]», что буржуазный и правосоциалистический реформизм стремится с помощью подобных уступок сеять среди пролетариев иллюзии, насаждать «классовое сотрудничество», доктринеры заявляют, что, мол, реформы «опасны», нежелательны и поэтому рабочий класс не должен, дескать, оказывать давление на буржуазные правительства. Идеологи современного троцкизма пытаются отгородить китайской стеной «борьбу за конечные цели» и повседневную борьбу масс за глубокие социально-экономические реформы. [] с «лево»-оппортунистических, догматических позиций [] лет лозунг коренных реформ и другие требования братских компартий, ссылаясь на то, что «сейчас существует риск использования их капитализмом». Следуя в этом вопросе по стопам троцкистских идеологов, автор статьи в «Акахата» проповедует концепцию об «опасности» реформ, о нецелесообразности давления рабочего класса на буржуазное правительство, искусственно отделяет сегодняшнюю борьбу трудящихся за коренные реформы от «революционной борьбы с монополистическим капитализмом».

Совсем иначе, как известно, подходил к этим вопросам В. И. Ленин. Он не раз указывал, что реформы, завоеванные в ходе массовой борьбы против буржуазии, могут быть превращены рабочим классом в плацдарм для дальнейшего наступления. Ленин подчеркивал, что активная экономическая и политическая борьба масс «способна дать действительные завоевания рабочим», «превратить половинчатые и лицемерные «реформы» на почве данного порядка в опорные пункты поступательного рабочего движения на пути к полной эмансипации пролетариата» (Соч., т. 15, стр. 406).

В наши дни еще более сблизились общедемократические и социалистические задачи рабочего движения. Однако современные догматики игнорируют важное положение, содержащееся в Заявлении 1960 года, которое нацеливает коммунистические партии капиталистических стран на то, чтобы «уже в современных условиях сделать все для защиты интересов рабочего класса и народных масс, для улучшения условий их жизни, рас-

ширения демократических прав и свобод народа, не откладывая этого до победы социализма».

Под демагогическим флагом «защиты ленинизма» редакция «Акахата» грубо искажает и ленинскую теорию империализма. Это ведет, в частности, к неверной, однобокой трактовке вопроса о взаимоотношениях США с другими империалистическими государствами.

Для отвода глаз авторы статьи сочинили некую «теорию главного удара по германо-французскому империализму», которую якобы проповедуют их оппоненты. Те, кому они пытаются приписать эту несуществующую теорию, обвиняются в «оправдании главного врага — американского империализма». Но это самый легкий (хотя отнюдь не добросовестный) прием в полемике: опровергать доводы, которые сочинены самими же «критиками». «Акахата» выдумала, высосала из пальца такую теорию, а теперь вовсю обрушивается на свое же собственное изобретение.

Для чего понадобилось [illegible] это? Очевидно, для того, чтобы легче пропагандировать ошибочные, идущие [illegible] разрез с Декларацией и Заявлением концепции. Суть их в подм[illegible] задачи борьбы против мирового империализма, возглавляемого импер[illegible]змом США, декларациями о борьбе исключительно против американ[illegible] империализма; в замалчивании и даже активном сопротивлении [illegible] постановке задачи борьбы также и против империализма западногерм[illegible]ского, английского, французского, японского и т. д.

Такой односторонний и, следовательно, ошибочный подход ведет к неправильному курсу в вопросах борьбы за мир, против агрессивной политики реакционных кругов не только американского, но и, скажем, французского или западногерманского империализма, представители которого стремятся заполучить ядерное оружие в свои руки. Позиция «Акахата» по этим вопросам во многом покоится на тех же несостоятельных «аргументах», что и теория так называемой «промежуточной зоны», с помощью которой лидеры КПК пытаются оправдать свой курс на сближение с французским, западногерманским и японским империализмом.

Подобные фальшивые концепции, в свою очередь, поразительно совпадают с некоторыми порочными «теоретическими» схемами Троцкого, пытавшегося приспособить извращенный анализ империализма на потребу своей антиленинской концепции «перманентной революции». Так, в 1926 году Троцкий пропагандировал крайне упрощенческую, догматическую идею о том, будто «только два начала» борются в мире — «империалистический американизм» и «революционный большевизм». В то же время остальные страны мира он изображал как некую несамостоятельную, пассивную силу. Троцкий игнорировал влияние основного антагонизма эпохи — между социализмом и империализмом — на развитие межимпериалистических противоречий.

Ныне «Акахата» вслед за троцкистами тоже отходит в данном вопросе от правильных, классовых позиций.

Извращение ленинской теории неравномерности развития капитализма, принижение роли основного социального противоречия эпохи и его воздействия на рост межимпериалистических противоречий — все это приводит к переоценке мощи и возможностей американского империализма. Игнорируя новые явления в международной [illegible], «Акахата» отрицает очевидные факты, на основе которых [illegible]ское движение сделало вывод о том, что, хотя США остаются [illegible] экономической и военной силой мирового капитализма, [illegible]льный вес в производстве и торговле капиталистического [illegible] факт, что если раньше (например, до 50-х годов) закон [illegible]сти развития капиталистических государств обусловил колоссальное [illegible]ление экономических и политических позиций американского им[illegible]зма в мировой капиталистической системе, то теперь, на новом этапе [illegible] кризиса капитализма, тот же закон действует уже не в пользу Соединенных Штатов Америки.

К чему ведет на практике [illegible] их капиталистической страны [illegible] ный курс, продиктованный [illegible] наглядно свидетельствует, например, ошибочная позиция, [illegible] руководителями КПЯ в связи с нашумевшей японскими профсоюзами [illegible] апреля 1964 года всеобщей забастовкой. Незадолго до [illegible] руководство КПЯ выступило с обращением, осуждавшим забастовку. [illegible] ЦК КПЯ (на его IX пленуме, проходившем в июле с. г.) [illegible] признана неправильной. В основе такой неверной позиции [illegible] срыву забастовки на радость монополиям, лежала наряду [illegible] причинами недооценка важности борьбы против японского [illegible] капитала.

Хотя на словах в «Акахате» [illegible] провозглашаются ультрареволюционные лозунги борьбы [illegible] американского империализма, на деле ее позиция проникнута пессимизмом. Практически автор статьи не верит в способность мировых сил [illegible] империализм, помешать ему реализовать новую мировую [illegible] возможностей империализма, особенно американского [illegible] который, дескать, «подчинил» себе всех и вся в несоциалистическом мире, [illegible] недооценка сил мирового социализма, международного [illegible] класса — такова действительная суть нынешней позиции редакции «Акахата». Но могут ли коммунисты согласиться с такими выводами? Нет, конечно! Подобная неверная позиция противоречит [illegible] общему революционному оптимизму, которым проникнуты [illegible] заявление — программные документы марксистско-ленинских партий.

Развитие международных [illegible] числе последние агрессивные действия империалистов в [illegible] Африке, на Кипре, против Кубы, в Конго, требуют от коммунистов [illegible] подхода к вопросам борьбы против империализма, требуют [illegible] сплоченности всех прогрессивных, антиимпериалистических [illegible]

Однако в этой сложной [illegible] обстановке «критики» генеральной линии международного [illegible] ского движения из руководства КПК и их единомышленников [illegible] «Акахата» скатываются на опасный путь. Вместо единства [illegible] ут к расколу. Более того. Их «антиимпериализм» (и то чисто [illegible]) подменяется на практике все более откровенным, активным [illegible] ом, подрывными действиями, направленными на дезорганизацию [illegible] ение массовых демократических движений. Об этом [illegible] ствуют, к примеру, позорные антисоветские, фракционные выходки [illegible] тайских и японских деятелей во время недавней Токийской [illegible] отив ядерного оружия, а также их выступления в последнее [illegible] Так на практике выглядит позиция раскольников, ведущих [illegible] американским империализмом лишь на словах, а на деле [illegible] главный огонь против СССР, против ленинской политики [illegible] отного большинства братских компартий.

В интересах трудящихся всего [illegible] конца разоблачить эту антиленинскую, националистическую [illegible] тивно противодействовать вредной политике тех, кто под [illegible] ной маской пытается расколоть единый антиимпериалистический [illegible] революционных сил современности.

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DATE 01-19-2012

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: October 23, 1964

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN LATIN AMERICA

The following information, supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

A meeting of Communist Party representatives from Cuba and Central America was held in Havana, Cuba, on September 15, 1964. Longino Becerra, an official of the Communist Party of Honduras, delivered the main talk at this meeting. During his talk, Becerra quoted Lenin frequently in calling for coordination in Central America of revolutionary activity promoted by popular central fronts. Philosophizing with respect to revolutionary tactics, Becerra stated that the form of a revolution should not be schematic and inflexible, but should depend upon conditions existing at any given time when a revolutionary situation might exist. Becerra pointed out that there should be preparation for any form of struggle that might be expedient at any given time in any given revolutionary situation.

REC. 10-428091

1 - Director BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency

OCT 26 1964

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

WGS:pah (7)

EX-117

NOTE:

Classified "~~Secret~~" because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons would jeopardize the ~~Source~~

(NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

OCT 23 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

~~SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

NOTE CONTINUED:

source who is furnishing information on a top-level basis concerning the international communist movement. Source is NY 694-S*, who is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect his security. Information extracted from New York airtel 10/15/64, entitled "Solo, IS-C," which enclosed copies of a 20-page speech delivered by Longino Becerra. Becerra's speech was sent to NY 694-S* by Beatrice Johnson, CPUSA liaison representative in Havana, via Leslie Morris, leader of the CP of Canada.

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 10/20/64

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

5- (Dest)

b7E

ReBulet to Chicago captioned, "JUSTIN I. CASE; SM-C," dated September 24, 1964.

ReBulet indicates that [redacted] a source whose information cannot be disseminated outside the Bureau, had advised that in August, 1964, one JUSTIN I. CASE, 56 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, had been in contact with ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN at the Hotel Sovietskaya, Moscow, USSR.

b7E

For the Bureau's information, JUSTIN I. CASE, author of the letter referred to by [redacted] is identical with CG 5824-S*. The address of 56 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the mail address and location of the Modern Book Store, the CP of Illinois outlet for CP and Marxist literature in the Chicago area.

CG 5824-S* utilized the name JUSTIN I. CASE based on the fact this name was known to and readily recognizable to FLYNN. In fact, according to CG 5824-S*, FLYNN, a number of years ago, had tagged him with the nickname "just in case" because whenever CG 5824-S* traveled abroad he always seemed to be prepared "just in case" for any situation that might arise. For example, if she or someone else might need a ballpoint pen refill, a needle, staples, or a thousand or one other items, CG 5824-S* always "just in case" seemed to have them available. From this course of events, FLYNN commenced calling him "JUSTIN CASE."

b7E

The letter noted by [redacted] was a communication prepared by CG 5824-S* in response to a communication received from FLYNN and received in Chicago in early August, 1964, through the mail drop address "JOHN SHOULDERS, Modern Book Store, 56 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois."

1-813RB

REC- 16

100-428091-4241

(2) Bureau (RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
(3)

EX-103

6 OCT 27 1964

65 NOV 4 1964

CG 5824-S*'s response which was noted in referenced communication was one of approximately four, all typewritten, which were subsequently sent to FLYNN under the JUSTIN I. CASE identity. Copies of all of these responses of CG 5824-S* are available to the Chicago Office.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/19/64

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 10/19/64, NY 694-S* advised that he transmitted to the Soviets, via the secondary channel - ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN - several partially coded messages, the plain text of which is as follows:

1. "Please note the following is a copy of which Morris Childs will hand the original to you. We expedite it without loss of time. Morris Childs is on route.

"Gus Hall"

2. "Leonid I. Breshnev
First Secretary
Central Committee
CPSU

"Dear Comrade:

"The world understands and accepts the fact that there can be differences that can and even do result in changes of leadership and that people do get old and sick. What it does not understand is any vagueness or an element of mystery while such changes are made. Any period of unexplained vagueness could result in damaging the prestige

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:eac
(10)

REC- 16 100-428091-4242

6 OCT 27 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 4 1964

"of the Soviet Union. We appreciate the problems of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in this matter. The bourgeois press can speculate on why certain changes but Communist spokesmen, under circumstances existing in the United States, can not say anything when they do not know more than what is appearing in the press. This creates unnecessary difficulties. This lack of knowledge and background does not add to the prestige of Communist leaders in capitalist countries who should be at all times some step ahead of the press.

"The retirement of Khrushchev and the transfer of his duties to other tested leaders, is of course, an internal concern to the members of the CPSU and to the citizens of the Soviet Union. We greet the leadership of the great Socialist country and welcome the public declaration on the part of the Central Committee, CPSU of last Thursday, October 15 that the CPSU will continue to promote the policy of peaceful co-existence as announced at the XX, XXI, and XXII Congresses of the CPSU. We also greet the announced intention of the successors of N.S. Khrushchev, in the posts of Party Secretary and State Premier, to carry forward the program of building a communist society at home, international solidarity of the working class and all the oppressed, and peace and friendship among the peoples of the world. This declared course will occasion no surprise among those who have learned from long experience to expect and highly value the role of Marxist-Leninists in blazing the trail for social progress.

"Gus Hall - CPUSA"

3. "CPSU - Dear Comrades:

"Comrade Morris Childs and wife are now on their way and should be in the Soviet Union in the next few days. We hope that your leadership will discuss with Morris Childs some questions regarding the replacement of Khrushchev which have not thus far been made public. Morris Childs has instructions to communicate with us. He has further instructions to come back for a time to discuss some of these matters that cannot be aired through communications, even if he will have to return again for further discussion and the planned December conference. We favor convening the conference in December, even if the broader one need be postponed.

"Gus Hall"

("broader one", in the above message refers to the scheduled meeting of all CPs in 1965.)

4. "CPSU

"The following delegates will arrive in the Soviet Union before your holiday: William Patterson, Mr. and Mrs. Phil Bart, Mr. and Mrs. Burt Nelson, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Dennis, Roscoe Proctor and wife, and William Taylor. Either William Patterson or Phil Bart or Mrs. Phil Bart will go to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. in a few days to ask for visas for these Comrades. Please give it to them.

Prev. discem. To Sobell CIA

"Gus Hall"

5. "CPSU

"Most urgent. We repeat as in previous communications that it is hazardous for our security to take up certain confidential matters which are known only to two or three Comrades. Therefore, regardless of official position or titles held by delegates who will be coming to the Soviet Union and the conferences, it is advisable to avoid such discussions."

6. "Please radio when Morris Childs arrives in the Soviet Union."

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 20, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

My memorandum of 10/16/64 reported that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU) transmitted a message to the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), on 10/15/64, via NY 694-S*, relating to the recent unseating of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. The information furnished by the Soviets to the CPUSA varied little from that which the Soviet subsequently released to news media.

On 10/19/64, NY 694-S* transmitted to the Soviets a message from Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, to Lenoid I. Brezhnev, First Secretary, CCCPSU, the original of which is being hand carried to Moscow by CG 5824-S* who is presently en route to the Soviet Union. The message relates to the unseating of Khrushchev and points out that while the world can accept the fact that differences can result in a change of leadership, it cannot understand any vagueness or mystery about the change. Vagueness can damage the prestige of the Soviet Union, and the CPUSA spokesmen cannot say anything when they do not know more than appears in the press. This lack of knowledge is harmful to the CPUSA leaders who should be a step ahead of the press.

A second message transmitted by NY 694-S* to the Soviets on 10/19/64, from Gus Hall to the CCCCPSU advised that CG 5824-S* would be in the Soviet Union in a few days and requested that the Soviet leadership discuss with CG 5824-S* questions regarding the replacement of Khrushchev which have not been made public. It was stated that CG 5824-S* has instructions to immediately communicate with the CPUSA regarding this matter and, if necessary, to immediately return to the United States if some of these matters cannot be aired through communications.

OBSERVATIONS:

The CPUSA is obviously confused and embarrassed by its lack of inside information concerning the recent change in leadership in the Soviet Union. Gus Hall has been besieged by

100-428091

REC- 16 100-428091

CONTINUED--OVER

WGS:pah
(5)

6 OCT 27 1964

65 NOV 4 1964

representatives of various news services for the "real story," and Hall apparently is desparately endeavoring to get the inside information in order that he may pursue the correct Party line. The fact that CG 5824-S* will probably receive the real story concerning the ouster of Khrushchev places us in a very enviable position.

ACTION:

For information. We will follow this matter very closely. No dissemination of this information is being made at this time in view of the possibility of jeopardizing the security of CG 5824-S* who is en route to the Soviet Union.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

REC-62

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/13/64

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 10/13/64, NY 694-S* furnished the following information to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON:

On the evening of 10/9/64, NY 694-S* conferred with GUS HALL, who told him that DANIEL RUBIN had returned from the Soviet Union and furnished HALL with information which was quite disturbing to HALL. RUBIN, according to HALL, reported that at the youth forum in Moscow, attended by RUBIN, the Soviets catered to, and favored, the youth of the Socialist countries and completely ignored "the Americans." The fact that the Soviets did not invite "the Americans" to participate in more important activities of the youth forum had made RUBIN very unhappy. HALL expressed disgust with the Soviets for not having greater appreciation of the American delegates to the youth forum.

3 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd (#41)
(7)

REC-62 100-428091-4244

EX-102

6 OCT 27 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 2 1964

According to HALL, RUBIN also had reported that he, RUBIN, while in the Soviet Union, had been unable to find a translation of an article which HALL had written in the August issue of "World Marxist Review" on the 100th Anniversary of the Founding of the 1st International. HALL had considered his article most important, and the fact that RUBIN had been unable to find a translation of it in the Soviet Union convinced HALL that the Soviets had not regarded his article seriously.

HALL also expressed resentment at the fact that an important meeting of Communist Parties of Latin and Central America is to be held in Havana, Cuba, in November, 1964, and that the CPUSA, had not been invited to attend this meeting. HALL said that despite the fact that the CPUSA had not been invited to attend this meeting, he planned to send JAMES JACKSON to Havana to attend this meeting since JACKSON, as an accredited correspondent of "The Worker," could go to Havana via Mexico.

HALL also mentioned that according to RUBIN, while the latter was in Moscow, he conferred with representatives of the Cuban youth forum who told him that the youth group that recently visited Cuba had been held in high regard by the Cuban CP and that the Cuban CP would request that a similar group come to Cuba some time in the future. Inasmuch as HALL had warned the Cubans against entertaining the student youth group from the United States, he felt that the comments of the Cuban youth forum were in the nature of a "slap in the face" to him.

HALL further told NY 694-S* that according to RUBIN, NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union, would come to New York on or about 11/7/64. In view of his resentment against the Soviets, as mentioned above, HALL stated he did not think that he would see MOSTOVETS when the latter arrived in New York.

In the course of the conversation with HALL, NY 694-S* told the latter about JAMES JACKSON having gone to the Soviet United Nations Mission in New York and having requested money

from the Soviets. HALL shook his head and his only comment was, "I don't know. I don't know."

HALL told NY 694-S* that [redacted] b6 b7C of BEATRICE JOHNSON, CPUSA liaison with the Cuban CP, had arrived in New York and was staying with BEATRICE JOHNSON's sister "somewhere in the Bronx." According to HALL, she will stay in New York for a while and will not go to Mexico, as planned, in the immediate future. HALL suggested that NY 694-S* stay away from [redacted] as he felt positive that the FBI would have her under surveillance. He stated that HELEN WINTER, who is now in New York, would be in contact with [redacted].

HALL also stated that he is having difficulty in inducing top Party functionaries to go as delegates to the November 7th celebration of the Russian revolution. He said that everyone has an excuse - that TOM NABRIED has had a heart attack and that others, for various reasons, state they cannot go. He stated that "BILL TAYLOR of California" was one whom he thought might go.

HALL then told NY 694-S* that he desired the latter to advise the Soviets of the following fact:

HALL has discovered a pro-Chinese "center" in Ghana, Africa. This group headed by SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS and a "Dr. LEEDS", and two other individuals, whose names are not presently known to HALL, are the center of a group that are conducting activities inimical to the interests of the CPUSA. HALL made a point of the fact that ALPHEUS HUNTON, a writer who has been in Africa for several years, is not a member of this group. HALL stated that he has information to the effect that SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS has a daily audience with KWAME NKRUMAH, and is also in contact periodically with J. KENYATTA, Prime Minister of Kenya.

HALL stated he will sent WILLIAM PATTERSON to Africa to contact both KWAME NKRUMAH and KENYATTA in an effort to

"stymie" SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS and her associates. He pointed out that PATTERSON has been very friendly with NKRUMAH and KENYATTA. HALL also remarked that PAUL ROBESON, SR., who is a friend of KENYATTA, will write a letter to KENYATTA explaining how SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS and her group are conducting operations against the interests of the CPUSA.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/20/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel, 10/13/64, reporting on pages 3 and 4 that GUS HALL had stated that he would send WILLIAM PATTERSON to Africa to contact KWAME NKRUMAH and KENYATTA in an effort to "stymie" SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS and her associates, who allegedly constitute a center in Ghana conducting activities inimical to the interests of the CPUSA.

On 10/19/64, NY 694-S* advised that on the aforesaid date ARNOLD JOHNSON, CPUSA Director of Publicity, told NY 694-S* that as regards PATTERSON's going to Africa, HALL had changed instructions. Since HERBERT APTHEKER, who has returned recently from Ghana, "did a job" on SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS and her associates while he was in Ghana, there is now no reason for PATTERSON's going there. Instead, PATTERSON will go directly to Moscow as a member of the CPUSA delegation which will attend the celebration in Moscow on November 7, 1964 of the Russian revolution.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)(AM-RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC- 62 100-428091-4245

EX-102

6 OCT 27 1964

ACB:rvs
(7)

INT. SEC.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 2 1964

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

REC 3

FBI ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/15/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel, 10/6/64, pages 2 and 3 thereof, reflecting that in a letter to NY 694-S* BEATRICE JOHNSON, CPUSA Liaison with the Cuban CP, stated "Have sent Gus Hall an important thing via Leslie Morris, indicating the position of the Communist Parties in Central American - four Latin American countries worked out single position blow to Johnson and slants of Cuban people. Bea Johnson suggests by all means it be published in PA."

On 10/8/64, NY 694-S* received a note from LESLIE MORRIS, General Secretary of the Canadian CP, enclosing a document, written entirely in Spanish, entitled "Central America in Perspective by Longino Becerra of Honduras" which had been sent to MORRIS by BEATRICE JOHNSON for transmittal to the CPUSA.

The above mentioned document has been translated by SA [redacted] of the NYO and appears to be a text of a speech delivered by one LONGINO BECERRA of the CP of Honduras at a meeting in Havana, Cuba, on 9/15/64, of.

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b7C

leave 813 RB

1-(3) - BUREAU (100-428091)(Encls.3)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(Encl. 1)(AM-RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INT)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ENCLOSURE

REC-3 100-428091-1246

ACB:rvs
(9)

6 OCT 28 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 2 1964

representatives of the Cuban CP and Central American CPs. Two copies of the translated speech are being enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one copy is being enclosed herewith for the Chicago Office. There is also enclosed herewith for the Bureau a Photostat of the original document in Spanish.

LESLIE MORRIS did not indicate whether BEATRICE JOHNSON had informed him under what circumstances she had gained possession of this document.

With respect to the said document, the translated text reflects that LONGINO BECERRA of Honduras, quoting frequently as an authority of LENIN, called for coordination in Central America of revolutionary activity to be promoted by popular central front. Philosophizing with respect to revolutionary tactics, LONGINO BECERRA stated that the form of a revolution should not be schematic and inflexible, but should depend upon conditions existing at any given time when a revolutionary situation might exist. He pointed out that there should be preparation for any form of struggle that might be expedient at any given time in any given revolutionary situation.

CENTRAL AMERICA IN PERSPECTIVE

by

LONGINO BECERRA of Honduras

Central American Comrades:
Cuban Comrades:

We have just met at the House of the Americas in order to revive our Central American Brotherhood. A catalyst for this occasion is the fact that 143 years ago today Central America broke the bonds of Spanish Colonial rule. This date should be noted, because we now find our Central American Brotherhood needed - more than needed - for the great historical tasks that grow from our countries. The present meeting is not merely social, but practical because of the presence of our Cuban Comrades who are on the highest historical level and who stimulate us with their example of maintaining their revolutionary standards.

Central America's independence, obtained on September 15, 1821, has been sufficiently evaluated by historical trial. We all know, having been led by the wealthy classes (bourgeois) of the time, this independence did not transform the Colonial Spanish economic structure, but was converted into frustration for the great majority of the Central American people. This has been repeated many times and is unanimously accepted, with

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-4246

the result that it (the frustrating economic structure) is the political doctrine of Central America. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that this trial period of 143 years of historical practice does not negate the purpose behind the separation of Central America from Spain. It is because the establishment of Central American independence constituted a deceit upon the proletariat by permitting the organization of a bourgeois republic with all its democratic forms and its despotisms making use of political education of the people and the nucleus of the advanced sectors of society. It is worth mentioning that Central American independence permitted certain capitalistic development upon the breaking of the monopoly of the colonial market and (also) permitting the inroad of foreign capital, thus accelerating the rising of the working class, the revolutionary class, par excellence. For that reason we consider it necessary to state that we did not lose everything with the formal independence of 1821, although no one is mistaken when viewing it (formal independence) as frustrating and a sign of the oppressive character of the State that was created. In this respect we can count on the support of Lenin who expounded the following important idea: "We are adherents (to the fact that) of a democratic republic being the best form of government for the proletariat

under capitalism, but we do not have the right to forget that wage slavery is the destiny of the people even under the most democratic bourgeois republic.

But it is not our purpose today to refer to the incidents of Central American independence. Upon reviewing what we want to take this opportunity to express, we have found that there are urgent questions touching our revolutionary consciences and which we cannot leave unattended at the present time. Undoubtedly, one of the questions presenting itself is (about) the revolution that is taking place in the Central American Isthmus at this time and that is fighting to come to the surface of history in one way or another. The magnitude of the problem and the need of having a clear conscience (counsciousness) about the principles which regulate its growth (the revolution), compels us to mark today, the 15th of September, for the purpose of propounding some general ideas about the Central American revolution which shakes the bowels of our Isthmus. What we will say it not new; it forms a part of the ideological doctrine which each Central American Marxist carries with him, but we consider known material worth repeating, particularly if it refers to a forecast of great historical changes. It is always useful to consolidate the knowledge of the occurrences that one experiences. We should not lose time in speaking of that which

preoccupies the Central American revolutionaries most, the Revolution in Central America.

There is no doubt that we live in a time where there is a formidable transformation in human society and the men of the 20th Century cannot feel less that profoundly satisfied at having been born into the gigantic vortex of our time. Upon realizing this, which cannot be escaped except by those whose minds have been anaethesized by bastard interests, the Declaration of the 81 parties defined our era in 1960 as the era of society's socialistic transformation, the era of certain liberation of all oppressed and exploited peoples of the world. This indicates that our time is not the holiday of the "little satisfied gentleman" who pretended to demonstrate the stupid nature of Ortega and Gasset, (could be one man with the last name of Ortega y Gasset) but the century that marks the rebellion of the workers and the conquest of society by the vanguard detachment, not to follow the paths of old and known roads, but to transform this society and launch it through routes of authentic justice, authentic democracy and authentic liberty. We are helping, figuratively, to attack the heavens, and it is our pride to be active elements in the conquest, thus shaming those who are enemies of the new times.

Withdoubt the Latin American revolution is a part of the revolution that is enlightening the world, already in the process of maturing, Cuba having taken the first step. This Latin American revolution, marked with the stamp of the world's working class, is one (revolution, occuring) from one end of the Continent to the other although (the revolution in) each country must be determined within the framework of it's own historical and geographical conditions. And it is one (revolution), not because the Marxists have established it capriciously, but because it imposes a common fundamental reality for all people. Some wish to forget this characteristic with the goal of erecting "different" or "distinct" revolutions in sections of our America. The reality will punish these acting revolutionaries. They will voluntarily repent or be left aside in the margins of history. Be well aware of the classics of Marxism, and it is necesaary to take seriously the warning that those who turn nature away from the door have no other alternative but to suffer the consequences of seeing nature introduce itself to them again through the window.

Within this continental revolution and as a proportional part of it, our Central American revolution reveals itself by

means of a thousand incontrovertible symptoms. The change of the correlation of force in the world; the presence of numerous free peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa; but, above all, the leading light of Cuba falling directly on our countries like a politically inextinguishable noonday sun that has acted as a powerful revulsive in order to make the order of the day of Central American society the radical change of old structures. That light, projected by the new social conditions of the world, has revealed the dramatic outline of our countries and has shown the Central American masses the road, the only road, that can lead to a definite solution of its problems. For this reason, we perceive, with complete objectivity, that in the bowels of our people the revolution is ripening in an accelerated fashion and these great symptoms impose on us the duty of guaranteeing perfect illumination.

If the Latin American revolution presents itself to us as one within the general unity (oneness) of the socialistic revolution that has a place in the world, the Central American revolution also reveals itself to us as a single unit in the process of change of our continent. The study of the whole of Latin America shows that no region exists where historical,

geographical, political and psychological factors have elements as common as those of Central America. We were only one community in a primitive society. We continued to be only one community during (the times of) Colonial Spain. We had many years of common being with the Central American Federation and we never lacked nor have we ever lacked the desires of being one Central American State even after reactionary ambition divided us. These facts, including even more the circumstance that north american imperialism has unified Central American anti-democratic forces and has produced a common objective in the 5 Isthmus countries, impose the condition that the revolutionary fight will be a single process in this region. Based on this, we can say that the difference between the unity of the Latin American revolution in general, and the Central American revolution in particular, is that the former unfolds in successive stages while the latter is put into action as a simultaneous action of the 5 countries that form the intercontinental bridge that is Central America.

For the Marxists-Leninists, we believe, each Republic of the Central American Isthmus ought to be considered as a revolutionary province in which the struggle presents itself in different

shapes and forms, but without being treated as isolated, nationalistic actions. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine teaches us that the contradictions of the base (are) also determined by contradictions in the superstructure (the contradictions are interrelated) and if this is true, as it certainly is, it obliges us to assume this (relationship exists) between the Central American common market and the monopolies of integration which demand (of us) a democratic reply as an apparatus of the common fight. In other words, the reactionary integration of Central America ought to be opposed by a revolutionary integration. To put it in a different way, without a coordination of plans adjusted by each province according to the circumstances, it would be a mistake to launch a fight against an army by one of our units (by one province). Such a plan (uncoordinated attack) would bring us to ruin as has been demonstrated many times by isolated instances occurring in Central America during different times and which causes us to immediately change this tactic.

The Central American revolution is a liberating revolution of anti-imperialist character and of a fundamentally agrarian content. It is liberating and anti-imperialist because the Yankee domination of our countries has reached such magnitude

that politically these republics are in a semi-colonial condition. It is agrarian in content because of the existence of huge land holdings in the hands of national and foreign land holders, the great majority of the peasant population lacking the necessary land to work. International statistics inform us that, for example, in Guatemala 2% of the land holders monopolize 72% of the land; in Honduras, 8% of the land holders monopolize 63% of the presently useful agricultural land; in Salvador, 8% of the land holders control 78% of the cultivated land; in Nicaragua, the Somoza family owns vast regions of land; and in Costa Rica, 2% of the agricultural owners monopolize a little more than 60% of the cultivated land. This property (holding) regime of the most important means of Central American production is the cause of the semi-feudal character that infects the Isthmus' economy and without whose destruction one cannot even talk about resolving the problems of our people.

The anti-imperialist character and agrarian content of the Central American revolution are inseparable elements. In Central America, as in the rest of the Continent, north american monopolistic capital has twisted itself around the surviving semi-feudalism in order to utilize it as a base for the economic domination of those countries. By this means, whatever Central

American republic which wants to resolve the fundamental contradiction caused by these semi-feudal means of production and where productive forces persist in developing themselves, north american imperialism leaps to the defense of the old precapitalistic structures which sustain it (the north american imperialism) in order to assure its control in each country. The situation is clear and exists in the following aims for any revolutionary who wants to see reality through a scientific and truthful doctrine. It is impossible to solve the great problems of Central America if the causes of semi-feudalism are not barred by means of a radical Agrarian Reform. But in order to effect this Herculean task, it is absolutely necessary to cut (off) the imperialistic penetration that sustains and encourages this disgracing and disgraceful scab which imperialism now impedes.

The Central American revolution, anti-imperialistic and agrarian, ought to be promoted by a popular Central American front, based on a worker-farmer alliance and directed basically by the workers vanguard. The motto (watchword) of the bold front is objectively possible in Central America because the revolution that is advancing and that is ready to appear is not , more than not, socialistic, but democratic-liberationist, and besides the working class having an interest in it, various strata of the small

radical bourgeois, the peasant and some sectors of the rising Central American national bourgeois will have such an interest. The worker-peasant alliance, as a base for the popular Central America front is vital for our revolution because more than 70% of the popular masses of the Isthmus are located in the country (rural areas) and suffer exploitation initiated by national (local) and foreign landowners. With this alliance, the Central American proletariat obtains that human force that is needed by the capitalistic developer of the region, while the peasants receive a revolutionary ideology, a monolithic organization and a program capable of ultimately liberating them from their situation of misery and ignorance. Without this alliance, considering the specific conditions of Central America, the democratic-liberationist revolution is practically impossible. Because of this we can repeat the famous expression of Marx when he said <u>without the peasant's choir, the solo of the working class will be converted into a song for the dead.</u>

In the present conditions of the Latin American continent, and espedally in Central America, no other social class exists which can complete the vanguard's task that has been assigned to the proletariat. The <u>national Central American</u> bourgeois is so weak and so compromised in the <u>pawnship</u> of North American imperialism, that it is practically non-existent as a class

and is incapable of leading a democratic-bourgeois revolution at the present time. The small radical bourgeois is so divided in the Central American Isthmus and the majority of them are so sick from anti-communism, that (the small radical class) it cannot nourish itself on the hope of directing a transformation movement that is more or less profound. Only the working class, the revolutionary class, par excellence, can lead the struggle for a democratic liberationist revolution that acts as a starting point, as the first step of a staircase, in the ascent toward the socialistic transformations that are here in the minutes of our time. To achieve this responsibility, the proletariat must start to take charge of their historic mission, to be conscious of their vanguard's role and struggle to the heights of that position. Concerning this point Lenin clearly stated this particular idea: "The proletariat is a revolutionary only when he has consciousness of the idea of hegemony and realizes it. The proletarian that has already acquired this consciousness is a slave that rises against slavery. The proletarian that is not conscious of this idea of hegemony of his class and denies the idea, is a slave that does not understand his condition of enslavement; in the best of these (latter cases), he is a slave that fights to better his situation as such, but not for the overthrow of slavery".

The Central American revolution is progressively ripening and each day it comes closer to an uncontainable illumination. Before such reality, the duty of the revolutionary conscience is to help Central American society achieve their part of this revolution, almost in the same sense that an obstetrician (midwife) helps the mother to give birth. To abandon this responsibility has always been, and is now, a crime of which one cannot purge oneself before the tribunals of history. But it is necessary to say that it is far from the position of a true Marxist-Leninist to stimulate artificially the process of revolutionary growth to the extreme of being elated with prevailing conditions in order to think that the natural level has been reached and the child is ready to be born. A similar means of action and of help could be compared to an obstetrician (a midwife) killing the mother, and in history, the abortion of the revolution. For this reason the great Lenin said that "Marxists always refused the possibility of 'stimulating' revolutions, which are developed by means of going forward making more keen edged the class contradictions that generate revolutions". Also the leading, genial, bolshevic indicated in terms we should not forget at any time "Revolutions are not made, but grow out of the crisis and the historical twistings that have matured in an objective way, that is to say, independently of the will of the parties and the classes".

The Central American communist parties with the exception, we believe, of Costa Rica, supported by the present conditions of the Isthmus and where it is possible to forecast, the Central American revolution will not be born spontaneously, but by a Caesarean (birth) with a somewhat violent struggle. But upon realizing this plan, the hands of the worker's vanguard are not tied. In the analysis of tactical problems, it must be made clear that in reality there are not two highways leading to the revolution, the peaceful struggle and the armed struggle between which one can choose. To sustain this (idea), we believe, is to fall into a simple trap that leads revolutionaries only in one direction as railroad tracks do to the engine and stops them from acting, like trying to change a concrete situation. Revolutions are nothing more than the conclusions or the final result of the class struggle, a struggle that is developed in many forms, that can have its ups and downs, violent and non-violent stages, times of crisis and times of apparent equilibrium. This indicates to the masses that no open highways exist in the revolutionary process, like those that are open to the traveler before commencing his journey. Revolutions represent a great task in which the masses - always the masses - act in accord with the existing conditions; sometimes they shoot, other negotiate,

denounce, urge, sabotage or lynch and the complexity of the problem is such that at times it is convenient to negotiate while shooting or to shoot while negotiating.

In accordance with this plan, it is absurd for revolutionaries to fall in love and even marry stereotyped, schematic and inflexible forms of struggle. The science of Marxism-Leninism teaches us that we cannot establish through anticipation the methods that will be adopted by the masses to help perfect the illumination of the revolution. Concrete circumstances that are in existence are a good thing to motivate the revolutionary process and thus it is our duty to always be in a position to change our forms of struggle in the same way that historical conditions change. The great Lenin indicated this principle in the following way: "Without dominating all means of the struggle we run the risk of suffering an enormous defeat - at times decisive - if changes, independent of our will, in the situation of the classes make the order of the day a form of action in which we are particularly weak".

It is important to emphasize that Lenin's instruction ought to be taken seriously by the revolutionaries. It would constitute a nameless irresponsibility that a warning so clear could be forgotten by Marxists-Leninists, which could put their respective organizations in a position to be defeated or destroyed

by the enemy in a violent offensive. We need to prepare for all forms of the struggle, saying it and repeating it frequently, but in practicality it can happen that one does not realize the serious efforts needed to prepare oneself (ourselves) in only one of these forms. Proceeding thus, we ought to say it frankly, is to put the oxen behind the car (i.e., to put the horse before the cart) or to find ourselves in a situation where the tide can drag us away like the bather who went to sleep on the beach. He who is not prepared to change his tactical front to an enemy who changes his, will not be able to do more than repeat fossilized methods of struggle at times in which conditions call for a different type of action. The latter extreme of denying the best revolutionary merits is a question of high responsibility that one cannot realize in the least without having sufficient elements of judgement (by which to judge). The possibility of an error being committed does not give a right to anyone to make the hasty accusation that it has happened merely because we think so.

The Communist Parties of Central America work in favor of the revolution adjusted specifically to the historic conditions of the Isthmus. Upon establishing that the possibilities of parliamentary activity to achieve the democratic transformations that are needed are closed in this section of our America, in no way does this mean that you have in your plans the immediate

initiation of war in each one of the five Republics. The backward situation in which the Central American people are found and the propaganda unloosened by Yankee imperialism to confuse the masses, imposes an intense activity of agitation that helps to unmask the objectives of the Central American regimes; that makes sharper the class contradictions and that tears from the political subsoil of Central America a profound crisis, capable of beingbeneficial in (causing) the adhesiveness of the most democratic sections of the people in order to launch themselves against the ruling dictators. This task, united through organization, by preparing sections specialized in all types of struggle, is accomplished presently under the most difficult conditions imaginable. The men, communist and non-communist, are being hunted with bullets in Guatamela, Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua with the object of placing a mural of blood of the revolutionary promotors before the masses. Because of this it will not be the fault of anyone if the Central American people respond in a determined moment to violence with violence, blood with blood and death with death.

The present forms of struggle have not been determined by Central American communists because they are afraid of trading bullets with their enemies, but because they impose on them (the communists) the kinglike conditions of this region. The study

of the clash of the classes in the Isthmus, including Guatemala, where an armed insurrection movement exists, reveals that the great majority of Central American peasants and workers are not sufficiently clear in their revolutionary objectives and, therefore, it is necessary to work with them and root out the multitudinous support that democratic transformations require. Lenin expressed in his book "Two Tactics....." that in the development of a revolutionary movement there are times in which the "agitation of the masses in place of armed, direct actions and the preparation of psychological and social conditions of the insurrection in place of _____ are the only appropriate watchwords." We believe that Central America is in this condition now, and that there should not be any action other than agitation, organization, preparation of all forms of struggle and the search for a favorable correlation (climate) in the class struggle. But when the hour for the change in the struggle arrives, the time of changing from words to actions, the Central American communist parties cannot waiver in doing that which they are concerned with in each of their countries. In this it is necessary to present the thoughts of Lenin, stated in unmistakeable terms: "When the revolutionary moment comes, when the 'old superstructure' cracks at all its' seams, when the

political action of the classes and the masses opens, creating a new superstructure for themselves, and has been converted into fact, when the civil war has commenced, limiting themselves as before, to 'words', without giving the direct password to actions signifies a lack of vitality, a rationalizing verbalism or the equivalent of starting a revolution and betraying it".

But a change of actions, or better said, to incorporate the armed insurrection of the masses as the keenest expression of the political struggle, ought to take into account not only the objective situation, characterized by the misery of our peoples, but also the presence of a revolutionary situation. It is well known that Lenin knew how a revolutionary situation was characterized at that time not only by "those down below" that are denied life under conditions imposed by the exploiters, but also because the "upper strata" cannot maintain their habitual methods of domination. Lenin himself in another of his works, "Marxism and The Revolution", said that "in order to be triumphant, the insurrection should be supported, not in a conspiracy, nor in a party but in the most advanced class. This is primary. Secondarily, it ought to be supported by the revolutionary promotion of the people. Thirdly, the insurrection ought to be supported in that moment of twisting (perhaps writhing) in the history of the rising revolution in which the activity of the

vanguard will be great, the greatest being the hesitations (caused) in the ranks of the enemies and in the ranks of weak, half-closed, indecisive friends of the revolution". This indicates that to revolt is not a task of the more or less valiant of men, of the more or less responsible revolutionaries, but a complexity of factors, many of them unsuited to the will of the parties and classes and others that are conditioned by the correct policy. In other words, to rise from the depths in rebellion is an enormous responsibility that ought to be taken seriously and which cannot be taken as a joke in any circumstances.

Supporting these principles, the Central American Communist Parties see their political accumulation of power in order to oppose (the enemy) with success in the decisive moments that present themselves in the near of immediate future. This policy is hard and difficult because it puts to the test what Lenin called patience, firmness and sustained strength of the working class, especially when they are working under conditions of permanent repression. For those that have fallen in typical bourgeois desperation and are incapable of prolonged efforts, it would be better to start right now, even if the conditions are not fully matured for it (the revolution). But the Marxist-Leninists cannot be lulled to sleep by the flute of war, played by a group of people orphaned from the people, because Marxist-Leninist know

the present conditions in Central America, where Yankee imperialism has learned much in Cuba, in Vietnam and other countries. Launching itself in a premature frontal attack with the enemy can mean the destruction of organizations and the indefinite delay of the revolution. The method of burning stages (bridges) in order to arrive early at the finish line, as has been demonstrated in history, does not achieve anything other than putting farther away the objective that could have been achieved in less time with methods contrary to suicidal ones. That is why Lenin properly said: "Without the existence of conditions determined by the masses, insurrection is not always advantageous (or advisable), it becomes a risk".

We want to conclude our words tonight with a tribute of respect and admiration to all the men, women and children who have fallen in Central America fighting openly for their ideals of liberty and independence. Upon invoking them as martyrs of our revolution we lift their names and their deed as vanguard standards that require us to follow their footsteps in search of the same objectives that carried them to their graves. We also pay a special tribute to the hundreds of political prisoners that in this hour give us an heroic example in the

torture chambers and jails of Central America for the simple crime of being the most consistent defenders of popular causes. Finally, we applaud with enthusiasm the workers, peasants, students and other progressive elements of our countries who battle from different trenches the injustice, the arbitrariness, the exploitation found in the system. For all of them - martyrs, political prisoners and combatants - we assure (them) since the Cuban revolution, the polar star of Latin America, that our battle is part of a great battle that will free the entire world from the exploitation of man by man, and because of them we will achieve final victory, in spite of anything our enemies do to stop it. On these conditions, that is to say, beneath the heroic bravery of the people, Central America will be the DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

Havana, September 15, 1964.

Central America in Perspective

by Longino Becerra

of Honduras

ENCLOSURE 100-428091-4246

Hermanos de Centroamérica:

Hermanos de Cuba:

Hace tiempo reunidos en esta Casa de las Américas con el objeto de reavivar nuestra fraternidad de centroamericanos. Sirve de catalizador en el encuentro el hecho de que hoy se cumplen 143 años de haber roto Centroamérica las coyundas que la ataban al dominio colonial español. Es en el marco de esta fecha, utilizada como telón de fondo, que estimamos en primera posición nuestra fraternidad centroamericana, seguros de que ha de sernos necesaria —y aun más que necesaria— ante las grandes tareas históricas que se plantean en nuestros países. La presente invocación de fraternidad, la decimos no como un ejercicio de cortesía, sino como un hecho, cuenta hoy y contará siempre con la presencia de nuestros hermanos de Cuba que, situados en un escalón histórico más alto, nos estimulan con su ejemplo a mantener en hora los relojes de la revolución.

La independencia de Centroamérica, obtenida el 15 de septiembre de 1821, ha sido suficientemente valorada por el juicio histórico. Todos sabemos que habiéndola encabezado las clases pudientes de la época, esa independencia no transformó la estructura económica de la colonia española y se convirtió en una frustración para las amplias mayorías del pueblo centroamericano. Esto se ha dicho repetidas veces y ha sido aceptado unánimemente, por lo cual tiene ya categoría de principio en la doctrina política del Istmo. Sin embargo, es preciso señalar que ese juicio, confirmado por 143 años de práctica histórica, no implica una negación sectaria de lo que objetivamente significó para Centroamérica separarse de España. Y esto es así porque si por una parte la independencia centroamericana constituyó un engaño para las masas, por otra parte permitió la organización de la república burguesa, con todos sus formalismos democráticos y sus despotismos, pero aprovechable en la educación política del pueblo y en el nucleamiento de los sectores más avanzados de la sociedad. Vale decir también que la independencia de Centroamérica permitió cierto desarrollo capitalis-

ta al romper el monopolio del mercado colonial y al permitir la irrupción de los capitales extranjeros, lo que aceleró el surgimiento de la clase obrera centroamericana, la clase revolucionaria por excelencia. Es por eso que consideramos necesario advertir que no perdimos del todo con la independencia formalista de 1821, aunque nadie se equivoca al valorarla como una frustración y al señalar el carácter opresor del Estado que engendró. En esta opinión creemos contar con el apoyo de Lenin cuando expuso la siguiente importantísima idea: "Nosotros somos partidarios de la república democrática como la mejor forma de estado para el proletariado bajo el capitalismo, pero no tenemos el derecho de olvidar que la esclavitud asalariada es el destino del pueblo, incluso bajo la república burguesa más democrática."

Pero no es nuestro propósito referirnos hoy a las peripecias de la independencia de Centroamérica. Al hacer el balance de lo que podríamos expresar en esta oportunidad, hemos encontrado que hay cuestiones urgentes tocando nuestra conciencia de revolucionarios y a las cuales no podemos dejar de atender en la hora presente. Una de esas cuestiones es la que se refiere, indudablemente, a la revolución de que está encinta el istmo centroamericano en estos momentos y que pugna por surgir a la superficie de la historia de una u otra manera. La magnitud del problema y la necesidad de que haya una clara conciencia acerca de los principios a que se ajusta su desarrollo, nos impulsan a marginar por hoy el 15 de septiembre, a fin de exponer aquí algunas ideas generales sobre esa revolución centroamericana que estremece las entrañas de nuestro istmo. Lo que diremos no es nuevo evidentemente: forma parte de la dotación ideológica con que cada marxista centroamericano lleva repletas sus cartucheras; pero consideramos que repetir una materia sabida, sobre todo si se refiere a la previsión de grandes cambios históricos, es siempre útil para consolidar el conocimiento de los hechos que avizora. Por eso nos abrazamos decididamente al criterio de que no perdemos tiempo al hablar hoy y siempre de lo que más nos preocupa como revolucionarios centroamericanos: la <u>Revolución en Centroamérica</u>.

No cabe la menor duda de que vivimos en la época en que tiene lugar la más formidable transformación de la sociedad humana y que los hombres del siglo XX no podemos menos que sentirnos profundamente satisfechos de haber nacido en el vértice gigantesco de nuestro tiempo. Al recoger esta realidad, que no pueden desconocer sino sólo aquellos que han adormecido sus conciencias con la anestesia de intereses bastardos, la Declaración de los 81 partidos definió nuestra época en 1960 como la época de la transformación socialista de la sociedad, la época de la liberación definitiva de todos los pueblos oprimidos y explotados del mundo. Esto indica que nuestro tiempo no es la pascua del "soldadito satisfecho" que pretendió demostrar el genio estúpido de Ortega y Gasset, sino el siglo que marca la rebelión de los trabajadores y la conquista de la sociedad por sus destacamentos de vanguardia, no para recorrer viejos y conocidos caminos, sino para transformar esa sociedad y lanzarla por las rutas de una auténtica justicia, una auténtica democracia y una auténtica libertad. Asistimos, en una palabra, a la toma del cielo por asalto, y es nuestro orgullo ser elementos activos en esa conquista, así como para otros es su vergüenza constituirse en enemigos de los nuevos tiempos.

Como parte de esta revolución que da a luz el mundo, figura, sin duda alguna, la revolución de América Latina, todavía en proceso de maduración, pero de la cual Cuba ha cubierto el primer tramo. Esta revolución latinoamericana, marcada por la impronta de la clase obrera mundial, es una sola de extremo a extremo del Continente, aunque se vista en cada país con el traje que las condiciones históricas y geográficas le determinan. Y es una, no porque los marxistas la hayan establecido caprichosamente, sino porque la impone de esa manera una realidad fundamentalmente común para todos nuestros pueblos. Por ello, aunque se quisiera desconocer esa característica con el fin de erigir pretendidas revoluciones "diferentes" o "distintas" en algunos rincones de nuestra América, la realidad castigaría a los revolucionarios haciéndolos que la reconozcan en contra de su voluntad o marginándolos de la historia. Bien

advertían los clásicos del marxismo, y es preciso tomar en serio su advertencia, que quienes arrojan por la puerta a la naturaleza, no tienen otra alternativa que sufrir la vergüenza de ver a la naturaleza introducírseles de nuevo por la ventana.

Dentro de esta revolución continental y como parte alícuota de ella, está nuestra revolución centroamericana revelando su presencia a través de mil síntomas inconfundibles. El cambio de la correlación de fuerzas en el mundo, la presencia de numerosos pueblos libres en Europa, Asia y Africa, pero, sobre todo, la luz cenital de Cuba cayendo directamente sobre nuestros países en un mediodía político inapagable, han actuado como poderosos revulsivos para poner en la orden del día de la sociedad centroamericana un cambio radical de sus viejas estructuras. Esa luz proyectada por las nuevas condiciones sociales del mundo ha revelado los perfiles dramáticos de nuestros países y ha hecho ver a las masas de Centroamérica cuál es el camino, el único camino, que puede conducirlas hacia una solución definitiva de sus problemas. Por eso percibimos con entera objetividad que en la entraña de nuestros pueblos madura esa revolución en forma acelerada y sus grandes síntomas nos imponen el deber de garantizarle un perfecto alumbramiento.

Si la revolución latinoamericana se nos presenta como una sola dentro de la unidad general de la revolución socialista que tiene lugar en el mundo, la revolución de Centroamérica también se nos revela como una sola en el gran proceso de cambios de nuestro Continente. El estudio de América latina en su conjunto demuestra que no existe ninguna región de ella donde los factores históricos, geográficos, políticos y sicológicos, tengan elementos tan comunes en varias naciones como es el caso de Centroamérica. Fuimos una sola comunidad en los tiempos de la sociedad primitiva, seguimos siendo una sola entidad durante la colonia española, tuvimos varios años de vida unitaria con la Federación Centroamericana y nunca faltaron ni han faltado los deseos de hacer de Centroamérica un solo Estado después de que la ambición reaccionaria nos dividió. Estos hechos, más la circunstancia de que el imperialismo norteame-

ricano ha unificado las fuerzas antidemocráticas de Centroamérica y ha generado una situación objetiva común a los cinco países del Istmo, impone la condición de que la lucha revolucionaria sea un solo proceso en esa región. Basados en esto, podemos decir que la diferencia entre la unidad de la revolución de América Latina, en general, y la revolución centroamericana, en particular, es que la primera se desenvuelve en jornadas sucesivas, mientras la segunda se plantea como una acción simultánea en los cinco países que componen ese puente intercontinental que es Centroamérica.

Para los marxista-leninistas, creemos nosotros, cada una de las repúblicas del Istmo centroamericano debe ser considerada como una provincia revolucionaria en la cual se presenta la lucha con grados y matices distintos, pero sin imponer un planteamiento aislado, nacionalista, de las acciones. La doctrina del marxismo-leninismo nos enseña que a las contradicciones de la base corresponden también determinadas contradicciones en la superestructura, y si esto es verdadero, como efectivamente lo es, ello obliga a suponer que el Mercado Común Centroamericano y los monopolios de integración exigen como respuesta democrática un aparato de lucha común, o sea que a la <u>integración reaccionaria</u> de Centroamérica, debe oponérsele una <u>integración revolucionaria</u>. Actuar de distinta manera, sin una coordinación de los planes ajustados estrictamente a lo que cada provincia puede hacer en determinada circunstancia, equivale a lanzar contra todas las fuerzas de un ejército una sola de nuestras unidades. Tal política, como es lógico, sólo puede llevarnos al fracaso, como lo demuestran numerosos intentos aislados hechos en Centroamérica durante distintas épocas y que nos reclaman el cambio inmediato de esa táctica.

La revolución centroamericana se nos presenta como una revolución <u>liberadora</u>, de carácter <u>antiimperialista</u> y de contenido fundamentalmente <u>agrario</u>. Es liberadora y antiimperialista porque en nuestros países la dominación yanqui ha alcanzado tal magnitud que políticamente esas repúblicas se encuentran en la condición de semicolonias. El contenido agrario lo determina la existencia de gigantescos latifundios en

poder de un puñado de terratenientes nacionales y extranjeros, mientras la mayor parte de la población campesina carece de la tierra necesaria para trabajar. Las estadísticas de los organismos internacionales informan, por ejemplo, que en Guatemala el 2 por ciento de los propietarios monopolizan el 72 por ciento de la tierra ocupada en fincas; en Honduras, el 8 por ciento de los terratenientes acaparan un 63 por ciento de la extensión agrícola actualmente aprovechada; en El Salvador, el 8 por ciento de los dueños de fincas controlan el 78 por ciento de la tierra cultivada; en Nicaragua, la familia Somoza es dueña de vastas regiones del país; y en Costa Rica, el 2 por ciento de los propietarios agrícolas monopolizan un poco más del 60 por ciento de la tierra aprovechada en diversos cultivos. Este régimen de propiedad sobre el más importante medio de producción en Centroamérica determina las características semifeudales que infectan la economía del Istmo y sin cuya destrucción no puede ni siquiera hablarse de resolver los grandes problemas de nuestros pueblos.

El carácter antiimperialista y el contenido agrario de la revolución centroamericana son elementos inseparables. En Centroamérica, como en el resto del Continente, el capital monopolista norteamericano se ha enroscado a las supervivencias semifeudales para utilizarlas como punto de apoyo en la dominación de las economías de esos países. Por esta circunstancia, en cualquier república centroamericana donde se quiera resolver la contradicción fundamental planteada por las relaciones semifeudales de producción y las fuerzas productivas que pugnan por desarrollarse, salta el imperialismo norteamericano en defensa de las viejas estructuras precapitalistas, a las cuales sostiene para asegurar su dominio en cada país. La situación es clara y se plantea en los siguientes términos para cualquier revolucionario que sepa ver la realidad a través de una doctrina científica y verdadera: es imposible resolver los grandes problemas de Centroamérica si no se barren las excrecencias semifeudales por medio de una Reforma Agraria radical, pero, para realizar este gran trabajo de Hércules, resulta imprescindible cortar la penetración imperialista que sostiene y alienta esa

contra vergonzosa y vergonzante, ya que de lo contrario, el imperialismo impedirá lo primero.

La revolución centroamericana, antiimperialista y agraria, deberá ser impulsada por un frente centroamericano popular, con base en la alianza obrero-campesina y dirigido fundamentalmente por la vanguardia obrera. La consigna del frente amplio es objetivamente posible en Centroamérica porque la revolución que avanza y está próxima a surgir no es, ni mucho menos, socialista, sino democrático-liberadora, y en ella tienen interés, además de la clase obrera, varias capas de la pequeña burguesía radical, el campesinado y algunos sectores de la naciente burguesía nacional centroamericana. La alianza obrero-campesina, como base del frente popular centroamericano, es vital para nuestra revolución porque más del 70 por ciento de las masas populares del Istmo están ubicadas en el campo y sufren la explotación inicua de los terratenientes nacionales y extranjeros. Con esa alianza, el proletariado de Centroamérica obtiene la fuerza humana que le hace falta por el poco desarrollo capitalista de la región, mientras que los campesinos reciben una ideología revolucionaria, una organización monolítica y un programa capaz de liberarlos definitivamente de su situación de miseria e ignorancia. Sin esa alianza, en las condiciones específicas de Centroamérica, la revolución democrático-liberadora es prácticamente imposible y por ello podemos repetir la famosa expresión de Marx cuando decía que sin el coro del campesinado, el solo de la clase obrera puede convertirse en un canto para difuntos.

En las condiciones actuales del continente latinoamericano, y en especial de Centroamérica, no existe otra clase social que pueda cumplir la tarea de vanguardia que le ha sido señalada al proletariado. La burguesía nacional centroamericana es tan débil y se encuentra tan comprometida en la casa de empeño del imperialismo norteamericano, que prácticamente no existe como clase y es incapaz de encabezar una revolución democrático-burguesa en las condiciones actuales. La pequeña burguesía radical está tan dividida en el Istmo centroamericano y la mayoría de ella se encuentra

tan enferma de anticomunismo, que no puede abrigarse la esperanza de que dirija un movimiento de transformación más o menos profundo. Sólo la clase obrera, la clase revolucionaria por excelencia, puede encabezar la lucha por una revolución democrático-liberadora que sirva como punto de partida, como primer peldaño, en el ascenso hacia las transformaciones socialistas que están en la minuta de nuestro tiempo. Para llevar a cabo esta responsabilidad, el proletariado debe comenzar por hacerse cargo de su misión histórica, por tener conciencia de su papel de vanguardia y luchar a la altura de esa posición. Lenin afirmó sobre este particular la siguiente idea esclarecedora: "El proletariado es revolucionario sólo cuando tiene conciencia de esta idea de la hegemonía y la realiza. El proletariado que ya adquirió conciencia de esta tarea es un esclavo que se alza contra la esclavitud. El proletariado que no tiene conciencia de la idea de la hegemonía de su clase o que reniega de esta idea es un esclavo que no comprende la condición de esclavo en que se encuentra; en el mejor de los casos, es un esclavo que lucha por mejorar su situación de tal, pero no por el derrocamiento de la esclavitud".

La revolución centroamericana madura progresivamente y cada día se aproxima a un incontenible alumbramiento. Ante tal realidad, el deber de todo revolucionario consciente es ayudar a la sociedad centroamericana a realizar el parto de esa revolución, casi en el mismo sentido en que el obstetra ayuda a la parturienta a dar a luz. Descuidar esta responsabilidad ha sido siempre, y lo es ahora, un crimen que no puede purgarse ante los tribunales de la historia. Pero es preciso decir que está lejos de la posición de un verdadero marxista-leninista estimular artificialmente el proceso de gestación revolucionaria hasta el extremo inflar las condiciones predominantes para creer que han alcanzado su nivel natural y que deben ser abiertas para sacarles la criatura. Semejante método de acción y de ayuda equivale en obstetricia al asesinato de la parturienta, y en historia al aborto de la revolución. Por eso decía el gran Lenin que los "marxistas siempre negaron la posibilidad de "estimular" las revoluciones, las cuales se desarrollan a medida que se van haciendo más agudas

las contradicciones de clase, que son las que engendran las revoluciones". También señaló el gental dirigente bolchevique en términos que no debemos olvidar en ningún momento: "Las revoluciones no se hacen, sino que las revoluciones surgen de las crisis y de los virajes históricos que han madurado de modo objetivo, es decir, independientemente de la voluntad de los partidos y de las clases".

Los partidos comunistas de Centroamérica, con excepción, según creemos, del costarricense, sostienen que en las condiciones actuales del Istmo y hasta donde es posible prever, la revolución centroamericana será dada a luz no espontáneamente, sino por la cesárea de una lucha más o menos violenta. Pero al hacer este planteamiento, la vanguardia obrera no se ata las manos. En el análisis de los problemas tácticos, se abre paso el principio de que no existenten en realidad dos caminos para hacer la revolución, el de la lucha pacífica y el de la lucha armada, frente a los cuales se debe elegir. Sostener este criterio, según creemos nosotros, es caer en un esquematismo simplista que encasilla a los revolucionarios en una sola dirección, como lo hacen las paralelas con la locomotora, y les impide maniobrar de acuerdo con los cambios de la situación concreta. Las revoluciones no son otra cosa que el desenlace o el resultado final de la lucha de clases, lucha que se desarrolla a través de múltiples formas, que puede tener ascensos y descensos, etapas violentas y no violentas, épocas de crisis y épocas de aparente equilibrio. Esto indica que a las masas no les presentan vías hechas en el proceso revolucionario, así como al viajante se le ofrecen rutas construídas para comenzar a caminar. Las revoluciones representan una gigantesca tarea en la que las masas —siempre las masas— actúan de acuerdo con las condiciones del momento: unas veces disparan, otras negocian, denuncian, exigen, sabotean o linchan, y la complejidad del problema es tal que a veces resulta conveniente negociar mientras se dispara o disparar mientras se negocia.

De acuerdo con este planteamiento, resulta absurdo que los revolucionarios se enamoren y hasta se casen con formas de lucha estereotipadas, esquemáticas e infle-

xibles. La ciencia del marxismo-leninismo enseña que no podemos establecer por anticipado los métodos que habrán de adoptar las masas para ayudar al perfecto alumbramiento de la revolución. Son las circunstancias concretas las que indican lo que conviene más para impulsar el proceso revolucionario y por ello nuestro deber es estar siempre en capacidad de cambiar nuestras formas de lucha en la misma medida en que cambian las condiciones históricas. El gran Lenin señaló este principio de la manera siguiente: "Sin dominar todos los métodos de lucha podemos correr el riesgo de sufrir una derrota enorme —a veces decisiva— si cambios independientes de nuestra voluntad en la situación de las otras clases ponen en la orden del día una forma de acción en la cual somos particularmente débiles".

Pero es preciso subraya que la indicación de Lenin debe ser tomada en serio por los revolucionarios. Constituiría una irresponsabilidad sin nombre que una advertencia tan clara pueda ser olvidada por los marxistas-leninistas, con lo cual pondrían a sus respectivas organizaciones en la posibilidad de que sean derrotadas o destruídas por el enemigo en una violenta ofensiva. Necesitamos prepararnos en todas las formas de lucha, se dice y repite con frecuencia, pero en la práctica puede ocurrir que no se realicen esfuerzos serios para prepararse en una forma de esas formas. Proceder así, debemos decirlo con franqueza, es poner los bueyes detrás de la carreta o colocarse en la condición de que nos arrastre la marea como al bañista que se duerme en la playa. Quien no esté preparado para cambiar de táctica frente a un enemigo que cambia la suya, no podrá hacer otra cosa que repetir métodos fosilizados de lucha en momentos en que las condiciones reclaman una categoría distinta de acción. Pero establecer esta falta en la vida diaria de una organización política y llegar hasta el extremo de negarle sus mejores méritos revolucionarios es una cuestión de alta responsabilidad que no puede realizarla cualquiera sin tener los suficientes elementos de juicio. La posibilidad de que una falta sea cometida no da derecho a que por cualquier síntoma se ponga en el portal de una entidad o de una persona la temeraria acusación de que ha incurrido en ella, simple y concillamente porque así se nos ocurre a nosotros.

Los partidos comunistas de Centroamérica trabajan en favor de la revolución))) ajustados estrictamente a las condiciones históricas del Istmo. Al establecer que en esa región de nuestra América están cerradas las posibilidades de una actividad parlamentaria para lograr las transformaciones democráticas que se necesitan, de ninguna manera significa que tengan en sus programas la iniciación inmediata de la guerra en cada una de las cinco repúblicas. La situación de atraso en que se encuentra el) pueblo centroamericano y la propaganda desatada por el imperialismo yanqui para confundir a las masas, imponen en estos momentos una intensa actividad de agitación que contribuya a desenmascarar los objetivos de los regímenes centroamericanos, que haga más agudas las contradicciones de clase y que arranque del subsuelo político de Centroamérica una crisis profunda, capaz de ser aprovechada en la aglutinación de los) sectores más democráticos del pueblo para lanzarlos contra las dictaduras imperantes. Esta tarea, unida a la de organización, a la de preparar cuadros especializados en) todo tipo de lucha, se lleva a cabo actualmente bajo las condiciones más difíciles) que puedan ser imaginadas. Los hombres del pueblo, comunistas y no comunistas, son) cazados a tiros en Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador y Nicaragua con el objeto de entreponer un muro de sangre al ascenso revolucionario de las masas. Por eso no será)) culpa de nadie si el pueblo centroamericano responde en determinado momento a la violencia con la violencia, a la sangre con la sangre y a la muerte con la muerte.

Las actuales formas de lucha no han sido determinadas por los comunistas centroamericanos porque tengan miedo de chocar a balazos con sus enemigos, sino porque las) imponen las condiciones reales de esa región. El estudio del choque de las clases en el Istmo, incluso en Guatemala donde existe un movimiento insurreccional armado, revela que las grandes mayorías campesinas y obreras de Centroamérica no están suficientemente claras en los objetivos de la revolución y, por tanto, es preciso trabajar más con ellas para arrancarles el apoyo multitudinario que necesitan las tranformaciones [illegible] expresó en su libro "Dos Tácticas..." que en el desarrollo de un

movimiento revolucionario hay momentos en que la "agitación de las masas en lugar de acciones armadas directas y la preparación de las condiciones sicológicas y sociales de la insurrección en lugar de putchs, son las únicas consignas justas". Nosotros creemos que Centroamérica está en estas condiciones actualmente y que no se debe montar para todo el Istmo otro tipo de acciones que aquéllas referentes a la agitación, a la organización, a la preparación en todas las formas de lucha y a la búsqueda de una correlación favorable en el choque de las clases. Pero cuando llegue la hora de un cambio de lucha, la hora de pasar de las palabras de los hechos, los partidos comunistas centroamericanos no pueden vacilar en hacer lo que les corresponda dentro de cada uno de sus países. En esto también hay que tener presente el pensamiento de Lenin al señalar en términos inequívocos: "Cuando ha comenzado el momento revolucionario, cuando la "vieja superestructura" se resquebraja en todas sus junturas, cuando la acción política abierta de las clases y de las masas, que crean para sí una nueva superestructura, se ha convertido en un hecho, cuando la guerra civil ha comenzado, limitarse entonces, como anteriormente, a las "palabras", sin dar la consigna directa de pasar a los hechos, significa falta de vitalidad, un verbalismo raciocinador, o bien equivale a entregar a la revolución y traicionarla".

Pero un cambio en las acciones, o más bien, incorporar en la lucha general de masas la insurrección armada como la expresión más aguda de la lucha política, debe hacerse tomando en cuenta no sólo la situación objetiva, caracterizada por la miseria en que se encuentran nuestros pueblos, sino también la presencia de una situación revolucionaria. Es bien sabido que Lenin entendía como situación revolucionaria aquel momento caracterizado no sólo porque "los de abajo" se niegan a vivir en las condiciones impuestas por los explotadores, sino también porque los "de arriba" no pueden mantener sus métodos habituales de dominación. El mismo Lenin indicó en otra de sus obras, "El Marxismo y la Revolución", que "para poder triunfar, la insurrección debe apoyarse no en un complot, ni en un partido, sino en la clase más avanzada. Esto, en primer lugar. En segundo lugar, debe apoyarse en el ascenso revolucionario del pue-

ción. Y en tercer lugar, la insurrección debe apoyarse en aquel momento de viraje en la historia de la revolución ascendente en que la actividad de la vanguardia del pueblo sea mayor, en que mayores sean las vacilaciones en las filas de los enemigos y en las filas de los amigos débiles, a medias, indecisos, de la revolución". Esto indica que insurgir no es una tarea que dependa de la mayor o menor valentía de los hombres, de la mayor o menor responsabilidad de los revolucionarios, sino de un complejo de factores, muchos de ellos ajenos a la voluntad de los partidos y de las clases, y otros que están condicionados por la aplicación de una correcta política. En otras palabras, insurgir entraña una enorme responsabilidad que debe ser seriamente meditada y con la que no se puede jugar en ninguna circunstancia.

Apoyados en estos principios, los partidos comunistas centroamericanos realizan su política de acumulación de fuerzas para enfrentarse con éxito a los momentos decisivos que se les presenten en un futuro mediato o inmediato. Esta política es dura y difícil porque pone a prueba lo que Lenin llamaba la paciencia, la firmeza y el esfuerzo sostenido de la clase obrera, sobre todo cuando trabaja en las condiciones de una permanente represión. Para los que han caído en la típica desesperación pequeño-burguesa y son incapaces de prolongados esfuerzos, resulta preferible abrir los fuegos desde ahora, no importa que las condiciones no estén suficientemente maduras para ello. Pero los marxista-leninistas no pueden dejarse adormecer por la flauta de la guerra, tocada por grupos huérfanos de pueblo, por que los marxista-leninistas saben que en las condiciones actuales de Centroamérica, cuando el imperialismo yanqui ha aprendido mucho en Cuba, en Vietnam y otros países, lanzarse a un enfrentamiento prematuro con el enemigo puede significar la liquidación de las organizaciones y el retraso indefinido de la revolución. El método de quemar etapas para llegar temprano a la meta final, como lo ha demostrado la historia, no logra otra cosa que poner más lejos un objetivo que podría alcanzarse en menos tiempo con métodos ajenos al suicidio. Por eso decía Lenin con toda razón: "Sin la existencia de determinadas condicio

nos en las masas, la insurrección no siempre es conveniente; se convierte en una aventura".

oooo

Queremos concluir nuestras palabras de esta noche con un homenaje de respeto y admiración para todos los hombres, mujeres y niños que han caído en Centroamérica luchando abiertamente por sus ideales de libertad e independencia. Al evocarlos como mártires de nuestra revolución, alzamos sus nombres y sus hechos como pendones de vanguardia que nos obligan a seguir por el camino de sus huellas en busca de los mismos objetivos que los llevaron a la tumba. También rendimos un tributo especial a los centenares de presos políticos que en esta hora dan ejemplo de heroísmo en las cámaras de tortura o en las cárceles de Centroamérica por el simple delito de ser los defensores más consecuentes de las causas populares. Finalmente, recordamos con entusiasmo a los obreros, campesinos, estudiantes y demás elementos progresistas de nuestros países que combaten desde distintas trincheras a la injusticia, la arbitrariedad y la explotación, erigidas en sistema. Para todos ellos —mártires, presos políticos y combatientes— aseguramos desde la Cuba revolucionaria, estrella polar de América Latina, que nuestra batalla es parte de la gran batalla que libra el mundo entero contra la explotación del hombre por el hombre y que por ello alcanzaremos la victoria final, pese a cuanto hagan nuestros enemigos para impedirlo. En esas condiciones, es decir, bajo el aliento heroico del pueblo, Centroamérica será la REPUBLICA DEMOCRATICA DE CENTROAMERICA.

La Habana 15 de septiembre de 1964

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/22/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 10/21/64, NY 694-S* transmitted to the Soviets, through the secondary channel - ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN - several messages, some in ciphered code and some in partial code.

1. The following message was in ciphered code, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Morris Childs has original Bill Albertson letter and specimens for analysis. CPUSA Central Committee Secretariat to meet on Albertson case October 28. Urgent radio your experts' opinion before set date.

"Gus Hall
CPUSA Central Committee"

3 - BUREAU (Encl. 3) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub-B) (Encl. 1) (AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd (#41)
(9)

REC-3 100-428091-4247

EX-103 6 OCT 28 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 2 1964

2. The following message was also in ciphered code, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Add to Central Committee code:

"Brezhnev will be Thor and Kosygin will be Inca."

(This message refers to the code utilized by NY 694-S* and the Soviets in the transmission of messages.)

3. The following message was in partial code, the plain text of which is as follows:

"CPSU:

"Transmit to Morris Childs - important.

"Please find out what happened to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's notes. Look into this most important matter.

"Gus Hall"

(The above message refers to previous request by the CPUSA that the Soviets collect all available notes of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN with respect to CPUSA matters and that the said notes be forwarded to the CPUSA.)

4. The following message was in partial code, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Please include James Tormey on CPUSA delegation list for visa at your Washington, D.C. Embassy."

(This is a reference to the CPUSA delegation scheduled to attend the celebration in Moscow on November 7th of the Russian Revolution. TORMEY's name had not been included in a list of delegates previously submitted to the Soviets by the CPUSA.)

5. The following message was in partial code, the plain text of which is as follows:

"CPSU

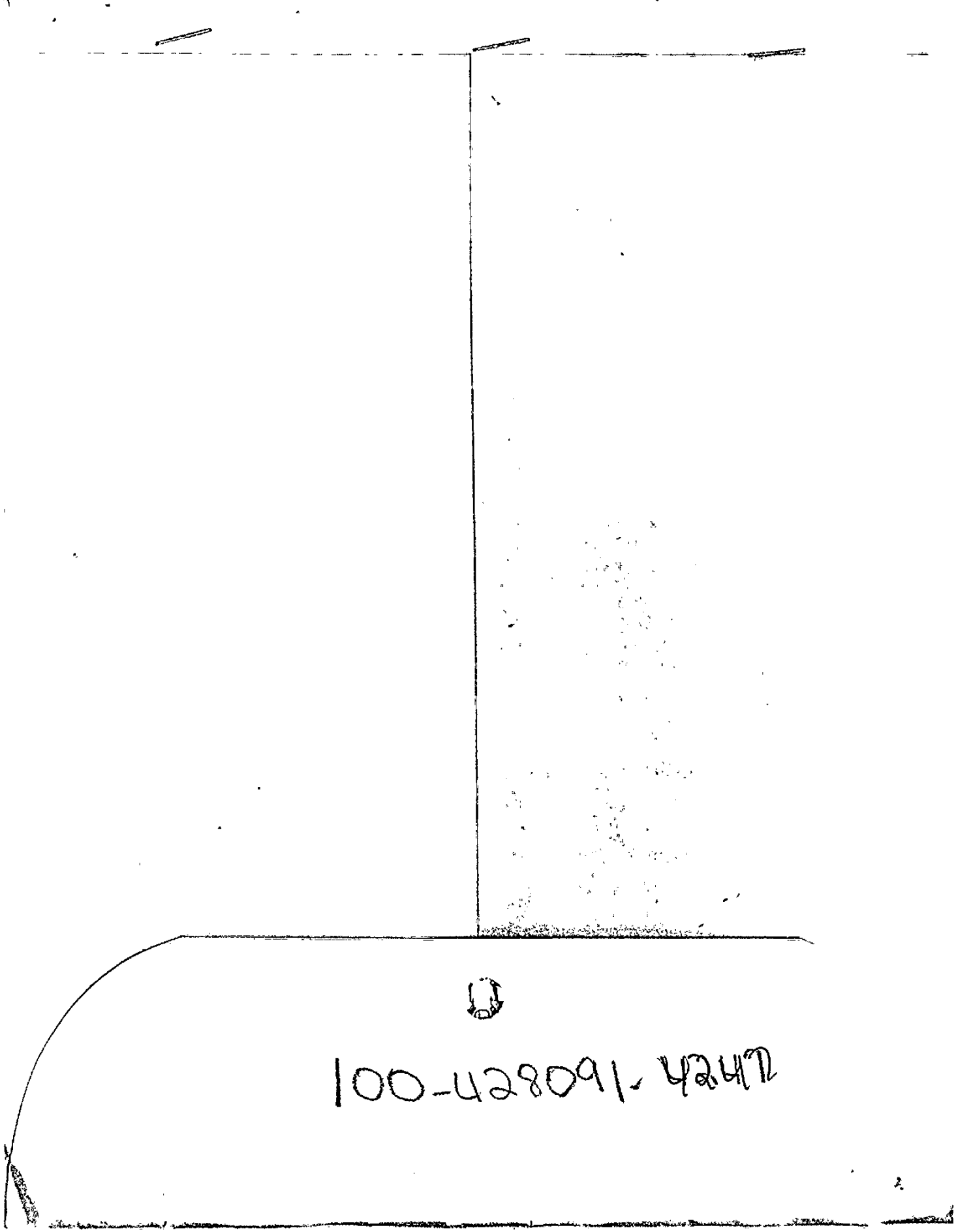
"Please transmit with all possible speed the following to Morris Childs in Moscow. This will further express my opinions and thoughts in his talks with you.

"For Morris Childs:

"Am sending this with all possible speed. The text is complete and corrected - this is to help in your talks. Please forgive the delay in reaching you.

"Gus Hall"

According to NY 694-S*, the above message refers to an edited version of a speech delivered by GUS HALL on 10/18/64, at a Worker dinner held at the Hotel Statler Hilton in NYC. The Bureau has been previously advised regarding HALL's speech at this dinner in NY airtel dated 10/20/64, captioned, "PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS; IS-C." Three Photostats of the aforementioned edited speech of HALL are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one copy for the Chicago Office.


100-428091-4247

Before I speak about the main problem facing us, I want to say a few words about two important events of the last few days.

The explosion of the atomic device of the Peoples Republic of China is a serious event, mainly because it points to some serious problems. It is my opinion that the development, the expenditure, and the detonation of this atomic device was not necessary. The Government of Peoples' China could have, and should have, accepted the defensive nuclear umbrella offered and pledged by the Soviet Union to all of the socialist countries.

But in saying all this, we cannot close our eyes to a stark reality -- that as long as there is an arms race, as long as the world is on the path of ever greater destructive power -- this by itself will be enough pressure for the testing of nuclear weapons. This week it was China. Next week it will be France. And what moral authority does the United States have protesting when the underground tests continue?

It is clear: The need to press for a policy of disarmament has now become a critical need. In this light I see no reason why the world should not accept China's suggestion of a world Summit conference to outlaw all nuclear weapons and for disarmament. Every opportunity for world disarmament must be utilized.

The atomic explosion and the changes that have taken place in the leadership of the Soviet Union have unleashed a flood of speculation about Communist policies in general. The Kremlinologists have had a busy day.

Of course, authoritatively I can speak only for and about the policies of the American Communists. So in that regard, let me assure you that nothing has happened that in any way affects our policies.

We continue to regard the fight for world peace, the victory of the civil rights struggle, and the defeat of the ultra-Right reactionary challenge as the central issues facing our nation and people.

Since the 1940s we have expounded the concepts of peaceful coexistence.

As for the policies of the Soviet Union -- their policies of peace, their support for the colonial liberation movements, and the building of the material and technological base for a Communist society are rooted deep. The world can accept with confidence the statements of their leaders that these policies will continue. The Soviet Union will continue to be a bastion of world peace. These policies were not at issue in the changes of leadership. These are not the policies of one man, they are policies of a class, based on long experience and study.

But many ask about the lack of full information as to the causes for the changes. It is a fact that at this moment all the necessary facts are not available. People ask, Are the reasons only old age and health? Here let me join you in the art of logical deductions, or better, the art of dialectical deduction.

I think the reason for some vagueness is that the leadership had not planned or contemplated such major changes. Most likely, something like the following took place. We know there has been some criticism of Khrushchev's methods for some time. The Central Committee was meeting and they took a vote of criticism which calls for correction. Khrushchev most likely refused to accept the criticism, and instead turned in his resignation.

Here is where old age and ill health could have played its role. As we get older, we get more brittle and opinionated. So the leadership was not ready for this drastic change at this time.

From what we know and from what appears in the press, what was the nature of the criticism? They centered on methods of leadership -- individual decisions too hastily made, refusal to accept criticism and some wrong policies in some sectors of the economy. For example, I have wondered about the method of mobilizing the grass roots before an idea was presented to the leading bodies. Maybe it was necessary at an earlier stage, but as a method it undercuts and bypasses the leading bodies. It can become an obstacle to collective work.

These events, it seems to me, are indications that the Soviet society has become very sensitive to any signs of some specific weakness. They are very sensitive to signs of bureaucracy or to a course dictated by emergencies or crises, or to any signs of a cult.

These are all signs of a new society. As they move towards Communism more of these characteristics will appear. They will demand ever higher standards of their leaders. The power or the source of political power will shift more and more to the grass roots. As the historic period of the "forced march" in the building of Socialism fades, there will be less and less direction by top committees or by a few men.

Khrushchev has made an historic contribution and I would not be too surprised if he will continue to make contributions in one capacity or another. But the problem for people in leadership has always been, and remains: how to keep one's eye on the present problems but not to get stuck there. A leader must be able to reflect a changing reality. When one gets older, this is more difficult to do.

These are all very interesting and meaningful developments. But the most crucial issue for us is right here -- because the danger that threatens world peace, the policies of peaceful coexistence, the threat to civil rights, to labor, is here in our midst. It is to this that we must turn our thoughts. Goldwater yesterday in Youngstown, Ohio, said, "Don't look at me - look at what is happening in the Kremlin." That is a part of the ultra-Right shell game we must not fall for.

* * *

History records human events with broad sweeping strokes of its pen. The 1930s are set down as the years of the Great Depression. But they are also recorded as the decade that unleashed fascism -- that most fiendish, degenerate, criminally evil force ever produced by man or beast. Once it was permitted to get a foothold, it threatened to engulf all of mankind, and before that foul, monstrous, global crime wave of mass murder was turned back, some 50 million human beings

were dead. The world had witnessed the operation of beastly automated gas chambers. The minds of tens of millions were debased and brutalized. Torture, chauvinism, racism, anti-Semitism, the big lie -- all became official state policies of governments in some major capitalist countries.

Books and articles are still being written trying to prove that there was something in the German or Italian character that gave rise to fascism. This, of course, is to hide the truth that fascism is an offspring of capitalism. Fascism is decaying capitalism in the raw. Fascism is monopoly capitalism without popular restraints. It is an attempt to hide the fact that fascism is a virus that lives in the bloodstream of all of capitalism. In capitalism, this virus can never be destroyed. But what is most important is that it can be controlled, it can be held in check. Its getting out of control is not inevitable.

I know some of you are thinking -- and I am getting your message -- "Why keep reminding us of those terrible days of the dead past?" Why? Because history will record these days -- the decade of the '60s -- as the period when the forces of the ultra-Right reaction, the virus of fascism, made a bid for power in the United States, a year when the ultra-Right forces unitedly backed a candidate for the presidency, a year when they actually captured the machinery of the old GOP.

I recite this past because what America is going to do about this challenge is being written now. The concluding chapters are yet to be unfolded.

For us,the most important lesson from history is not what the democratic forces of the world or the people of Germany or Italy did to overthrow the fascist governments -- as heroic and inspiring as that may be. The lesson we must learn is: What is it that they did not do which made it possible for the forces of fascism to get the upper hand? The lesson is written in the blood of 50 million human beings, that fascism became inevitable only because the anti-fascist, the democratic forces were not aroused or united in time. It got the upper hand in large measure because the forces of the political Left were not united or aroused. The trade unions were not united.

The reason the forces of democracy were not united was because they did not understand or appreciate the danger or the nature of the challenge. They remained complacent and so each sector went about their business as usual. Let me quote to you a typical complacent reaction. Harold Laski, who was a Left labor leader, wrote less than two months before Hitler took complete power. In the Daily Herald, he wrote:

> "I think it is a safe prophecy that the Hitlerite movement has passed its apex and it is unlikely to retain much longer the appearance of solidity it had a few months ago. Hitler or some of his partisans may enter the Von Papen Cabinet. But in that case they will be rapidly submerged. The day when they were a vital threat is gone. All that remains of his movement is a threat he dare not fulfill. He reveals himself as a myth without permanent foundation."

This disarming and complacent attitude was very much, if not typical, in the ranks of those who could have defeated fascism. As it turned out, it was Laski's assessment of the fascist danger that was a "myth without foundation." With such illusions the democratic forces of the '30s did not see any reason for a united struggle. They did not find it necessary to fight against a disintegrating myth. Fascism and reaction -- because it is by its very nature against the interests of the majority, can succeed only in an atmosphere of complacency.

That was in the '30s. But does not the complacent tone of Laski of the '30s sound too much like some of the periodicals and spokesmen of the liberals, the progressives and even of the Left of today? Walter Lippmann only the other day wrote: "It looks as if the national campaign has collapsed. The role being played by Senator Goldwater has become perfunctory."

Does this not sound like a "myth without foundation?"

A Trotskyite magazine writes consolingly, "There will be much harsher enemies than Goldwater in the future."

Laski depended on the Von Papens to submerge Hitler. But is it not a fact that there are still some on the left today who are not only minimizing the danger of the ultra-Right, but are saying, "We can leave the defeating of this challenge to someone else."

On the one hand, some of the voices on the left complacently say that the basic sections of the "liberal establishment", as they call it, will not permit fascism. And on the other hand they say, there is really no difference because the whole capitalist class is moving towards fascism. In the same articles they express this complacency and complete hopelessness. In fact, the roots of these concepts are not too far apart.

The elections of 1964 have become so extremely crucial because the struggle around the basic issues of democracy or fascism, peace or war, civil rights or jim-crow, have all become focussed in this campaign. The results of this campaign will, to a large extent, determine the direction of the resolution of these questions.

The ballot box, the voting booth have become important instruments for these struggles. But for the Left to view this mass campaign only through the narrow slit in the voting booth is to miss the central feature of what is going on. The central political feature of this election campaign are the masses who are in motion around the issues of these elections. They are in motion around the very basic issues that our nation faces. We of the Left cannot afford politically to ignore that in the grass roots, the leg work that is going on, the mass distribution of literature, and the voter registration drives throughout the country are largely being done by the forces of labor, the civil rights movement, the forces of peace and civil liberties. More than at any time, the grass roots' campaigning against Goldwater is being done by politically independent forces.

The most important victory of this campaign, therefore, can be an electoral defeat for the candidates of the ultra-Right. And if on November 4th and thereafter, there will remain a broad people's democratic movement that because of its experience in this campaign will have a new understanding of the danger of fascism, a new and higher consciousness of the need to struggle for peace, for democracy, for civil rights, a new sense of confidence in its own united strength -- such a result from this campaign will be the only guarantee that our nation will be pushed onto a path of peace, democracy and economic security. These victories are both realistically possible. They are especially possible if the more conscious elements, the legions on the left become fully active among these masses in motion. What we do in this campaign, in this drive to defeat the challenge of reaction and fascism will determine what credits we will have on the political scene after the elections.

What are some of the concepts that keeps a part of the Left on the side lines during these crucial months? The editors of one independent socialist magazine do now finally admit that there is a danger of fascism in the U.S.A. And they even now admit that Goldwater has become identified with this fascist danger. But then they draw this curious conclusion: "For our part, we have made up our minds not to take sides in the conflict in the American ruling class and to concentrate our limited energies on helping the revolutionary forces of the world ..."

There are obviously and fundamentally two things wrong with that statement. First, in a basic sense, it is a truism and a lesson of history that there has never been a successful revolution of any kind, whether bourgeois, socialist or colonial-liberation, or even a major economic struggle by labor, or a victory over reaction and fascism any place in the world where the leadership did not utilize the differences in the ranks of the enemy. In fact, the utilization of such differences is an absolute must if one is to win.

Secondly, is this election really nothing more than a private fight between two sectors of capitalism? If this would really be so, then there are literally

millions, in fact the majority of our people, who are complete dupes. The reason it is indispensable for revolutionary groups to take note of the divisions in the ranks of the ruling class is that these divisions reflect and influence the course of mass movements and sentiments.

Believe me, we have no illusions about the nature of the so-called "reasonableness" of what is called "the liberal establishment." This "reasonableness" can always be measured by the mass movements and mass popular sentiments. Their "reasonableness" does not arise from the nature of capitalism. It is a "reasonableness" that is imposed on them by mass struggles. The "reasonableness" of those sections of American capitalism who are not supporting the ultra-Right fascist challenge is based on the self-interests of these sections. But it happens to coincide with the self-interests of the labor movement, the civil rights movement, the peace forces. This is how one takes advantage of differences in the ranks of one's enemy.

I need not tell you that under the "liberal establishment" U.S. imperialism is as aggressive as it dares to be. But under an ultra-Right administration, it would be as aggressive and as reckless as it is possible to be. The "liberal establishment" reflects the mass struggles of the Negro people and grants concessions. A Federal administration of the ultra-Right would behave on a national scale as it now does in Mississippi and Alabama.

The Negro Americans are looking forward to the next stage in the struggle for freedom. They are united against the ultra-Right. Can the Left say it makes no difference who gets elected and still expect to be a factor in the struggle for civil rights?

We have not, and we do not, hesitate to condemn or to criticize aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism or wrong domestic policies of the administration. But there is a difference. We do not condemn nor criticize these policies in the context of hopelessness or for the sake of being critical. We criticize and condemn wrong policies in the context of arousing masses into action, in the context of giving them confidence, in the context of forcing concessions and changes. All concessions and reforms are rewards of class struggles of masses who were given leadership.

To condemn policies in the context of hopelessness only leads to helplessness and to cynicism. Such policies cannot arouse anyone, nor can it change anything. To condemn and to criticize without showing a possible avenue of winning a possible partial step towards victory leads to a feeling of a deadend. Merely to condemn what is wrong without participating in the struggles with the masses against these evils is like sitting in a sidewalk cafe, cussing and ranting as the march of the masses in struggle goes by.

Some on the left are still influenced by ideas that it really makes no difference who gets elected. Others are influenced by ideas that it makes no difference because President Johnson will win anyway. These are dangerous illusions.

Some say they are "neutral." But it seems almost impossible for any serious-minded human being to be "neutral" in the struggle against the menace of fascism. Inadvertently such "neutrality" becomes an instrument of reaction. If one digs a little deeper, it is obvious such forces are not as neutral as they claim. Ninety percent of the space in their publications and of the time of some of these forces goes into attacking the Johnson Administration while Goldwater and the fascist threat is passed off with the words, "We all know how reactionary he is." But they go even further and say that it would be very dangerous for Johnson to get too big a majority. What is the logic of that concept? To somehow cut down that majority. The idea of voting for Goldwater is just over the hump of such concepts. To be neutral in this election is to be neutral toward the issues of our times - is to be neutral to the millions who see this campaign as a continuation of their struggle.

The post-election U.S.A. is being shaped by the mass movements and our actions of today. A Left on the sidelines of the election struggles will not be a factor in the post-election picture. The Left will not become a political factor if it tends to paddle around in its own warm but stagnant pools of the backwaters of our political life. On the other hand, as a united force - but in the main currents and streams of our turbulent political waters - it can very quickly become an influence and in a short period a factor that will determine the course of our country.

It is from these mass currents, mass struggles and movements around the elections that there will arise a consciousness, confidence and cadre for the independent political movements in our country. To stand on the side lines with the banners of abstract political purity, with slogans that the masses are not ready to fight for or accept, is to become isolated. Wishing and hoping for a more advanced stage of political development will never make it so. It will only emerge out of the present struggles, the present movements. As a result of the independent political movements that have taken shape in different parts of the country during these elections, there is a realistic possibility that a coalition of independent movements is going to take on national proportions. Should not the Left be with this development?

The political mass currents of today are of such a nature that the Left has it within its power to write history in a way that will record these 1960's as a period when there emerged a broad people's democratic alliance that smashed the ultra-Right fascist bid for power, and then moved on in the struggle against the monopolies, in the struggle to complete the civil rights revolution, in the struggle to end the aggressive policies against Cuba and Southeast Asia, in the struggle for economic security and world peace. Then history can also record that the American people were realistically moving along a path that will lead to the socialist transformation of our society.

We cannot have complete unity of the Left forces overnight, but let us begin. Let us find those steps where we can unite in those areas where we see eye to eye. In any attempt, large or small, to bring the forces of the Left together, in the ranks of the Communists there will be the most enthusiastic response. Our enemies are not the Left. We look upon all forces on the left as brothers and sisters in struggle. We have disagreements but this cannot be an obstacle to unity. We therefore urge a new look by all of us on the question of organizing and promoting a united Left that will begin to determine the course of our country.

#

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE
FBI

Date: 10/23/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

5-

SOLO
IS-C

On the morning of 10/23/64 there was received at the cover address in Des Plaines, Ill., a postal card from CG 5824-S* which was postmarked at London, England, 10/20/64. The following is the text of this postal card:

"Dear Avery:

"We are now ensconced at the Hilton. The Hilton chain will certainly make a large profit this year. Spent a.m. arranging for our scheduled trip to the continent. Also visited with a few friends. They were sure surprised. We will try to have a good time. Keep well.

"/s/ Harold"

The above message indicated that CG 5824-S* had arrived in London per schedule and was staying at the London Hilton Hotel according to the prearrangements. He indicated he had contacted the Czechoslovak Embassy on the morning of 10/20/64 to obtain the visas for himself and CG 6653-S. Lastly, he indicated he had made contact with a "few" other people in Great Britain and we can only surmise that this included JOHN WILLIAMSON and perhaps JOHN GOLLAN. There was no indication when CG 5824-S* expects to emplane on the next leg of the current Solo Mission.

1-81328

1-4 (3) Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Info)(RM)
1-Chicago
RWH:MDW
(5)

REC-3 100-428091-4248

EX-101

6 OCT 28 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 2 1964

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-81) 10/22/64

SAC, NEW YORK (100-86624)

CPUSA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS - C
(OO: NY)

ReBulet, 10/21/64, and NYlet, 9/21/64.

Enclosed herewith in Sextuplicate is ~~"Top Secret"~~ letterhead memorandum concerning captioned matter.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 6)(RM)
(1 - 100-428091)
2 - Chicago (100-33729)(Encl. 2)(RM)
(1 - 134-46 Sub B)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)
1 - NY 100-86624 (42)

JDO:mfd
(7)

1 ENCLOSURE

69 NOV 2 1964

NOT RECORDED
180 OCT 26 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
October 22, 1964

3/11/2011 ML

~~SECRET~~

100-3-81

Re: Communist Party, U.S.A.,
International Relations
Internal Security - C

Reference is made to our memorandum dated September 21, 1964.

No mail has been received at Post Office Box 209, Church Street Station, New York, New York, during the period September 22, 1964, through October 21, 1964.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~
Classified by 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

100-412791

ENCLOSURE

~~FOR SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

1 - Mr. Mossburg
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: October 26, 1964 ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

10/27/64 Delivered 0848

Solo

The following information, supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Herbert Aptheker, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), recently completed a trip to Ghana which was described by a top CPUSA leader as most productive and fruitful.

Most of the speech delivered by Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, at the recent meeting of neutral nations in Cairo, Egypt, had been written by Aptheker.

REC-3 100-428091-4249

The CPUSA feels it is making good progress toward countering the pro-Chinese group of Americans now residing in Ghana.

OCT 28 1964

EX-103

At the request of Nkrumah, the CPUSA plans to send Negro and other Marxist teachers to Ghana.

MAILED 8
OCT 27 1964
COMM-FBI

RCP:pah
(8)

~~FOR SECRET~~

FBI - JUSTICE
RECD - PENTAGON

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

65 NOV 2 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, we have classified this communication "~~Top Secret~~."

1 - Director BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal identity of the source, who is of continuing value, and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source is CG 5824-S*, who is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect his identity. Information was extracted from informant's statement enclosed with New York airtel 10/20/64 captioned, "Solo, IS-C."

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 23, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

This is to advise of the briefing given CG 5824-S* by Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), prior to informant's departure on 10/19/64 on Solo Mission 16 to the Soviet Union. Hall instructed CG 5824-S* to take up the following matters with the Soviets:

Changes in Leadership of Soviet Union

Hall was extremely upset by the removal of Nikita Khrushchev. Harrassed by news media, Hall was unable to issue a statement because he was "ill informed." He wants the inside story fast.

Sino-Soviet Split

Hall wants a copy of his speech to the National Board, CPUSA, strongly supporting the Soviets in their dispute with Red China personally delivered to the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU). He also wants it strongly stated that he is against any postponement of the 12/15/64 preparatory meeting of CPs in Moscow to prepare for the larger meeting in 1965. The CPUSA will send a very large delegation to this meeting and Hall may attend.

CPUSA to Abandon the "National Guardian"

The Soviets are to be informed that the CPUSA plans to give up on the "National Guardian," a non-Party left wing newspaper, and turn "People's World," west coast communist newspaper, into a "non-Party paper" in its place. Hall has no doubts that "Chinese money" is being used to finance the "National Guardian."

Contact with CP of Great Britian

CP of Great Britian is to be advised that they printed an article on the recent visit to Cuba by American students in error since this group is anti-Party and anti-Soviet.

100-428091

RCP:pah
(5)

CONTINUED--OVER

100-428091-4250

REC-7

6 OCT 29 1964

65 NOV 2 1964

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: SOLO
100-428091

Proposed Aid to Soviets Internationally on Racial Question

The CPUSA, with a strong Negro cadre, is in a unique position to help the CPSU internationally on the racial question. The CPUSA has been invited to send speakers to Kenya, Ghana, India, etc., and is considering sending Claude Lightfoot, National Vice Chairman, to India. While CPUSA has paid for these visits in the past it is felt the Soviets should pay in the future since the CPSU will also greatly benefit from them.

Exchanges With Latin American CPs

Arrangements are to be worked out for exchanges, personal and otherwise, with CPs of Latin America. The reason why CPUSA was the only CP in the Western Hemisphere not invited to the Conference of Latin American CPs scheduled for late November, 1964, in Cuba, should be determined.

Request for Funds

Source is to formulate the CPUSA request for funds on any basis deemed suitable. The Soviets are to disregard requests for funds unless they come from Hall or CG 5824-S*. Hall must create a "money crisis" from time to time to dispel idea of unlimited funds and to conceal from leadership and membership the facts that money comes from the Soviets.

ACTION:

Since Soviet reactions to these matters are not known, it is deemed judicious to await return of CG 5824-S* from his Solo mission prior to making dissemination of this information. It is also believed that dissemination of this information prior to informant's return may seriously jeopardize his security.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
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Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 26, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On 10/26/64, the New York Office furnished the text of two messages the informant desired to send and requested that they be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished New York on the same date.

The plain text is set forth below. The cipher text is attached.

FOR HUB (Morris Childs), DOVE (International Affairs Committee) BOXER (CPUSA) BOW'S (Secretariat) DECISION CURTAILED HAWAIIAN TRIP. HAVE NOW RETURNED CENTER. SITUATION IN COVE (United States) PRESS AND LANE (Communist Party) NOW MORE PRESSING THAN EVER. BIRCH (Gus Hall).

REFEREE (Central Committee) VERY URGENT MOST IMPERATIVE YOUR ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS I RAISED REGARDING NEW COACH (CPSU) LEADERSHIP BE FURNISHED NEXT HOURS. WE CONSIDER THIS AN EMERGENCY. THEREFORE OUR TUG (radio) (repeat) TUG ALERTED TO STANDBY TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY AT SAME TUG (radio) SCHEDULE TO RECEIVE CONCISE ANSWERS UNTIL I LEARN MORE FROM HUB (Morris Childs). BIRCH (Gus Hall).

ACTION:

For information.

ENCLOSURE

EX-117 REC-7 100-428091-4251

Enclosure

6 OCT 29 1964

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:mmg

65 NOV 2 1964

70535 48672 65865 24013 86876 05126 94855 02222 02097 50381
35871 76611 47367 62754 35636 45718 84873 57581 70959 45674
10977 21545 74140 04668 78750 73204 72111 14763 25828 52115
53336 31482 80040 98337 03853 13294 79638 67775 83583 04390
89548 91117 39943 16025 50209 43812 96833 72539 86640 43496
55272 67806 32801 16859 43171 93455 80974 03052 19806 82664
88940 30120 90711 88379 12055 87130 71084 40257 41761 20366
04796 87977 38082 92981 63391 44469 53389 37772 32978 00039

93362 41789 04517 42206 52634 83876 48474 70053 72033 03387
35448 24127 53028 01383 63773 93075 02211 14703 01739 12754
55488 87159 05931 41432 75708 83658 45770 94724 16684 38091
07280 31189 28302 39729 64311 13068 27218 13065 23741 80124
82303 59888

FORM 810
50. CALUMET AVE. CHICAGO, ILL. 60616

ENCLOSURE 100-428091-425

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 21 1964

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

12-28 PM 9-21-64 JMS

b6
b7C

TO NEW YORK ATTENTION [redacted] --02--

FROM DIRECTOR

SOLO

IS - C

NR 246 GR 80

FOLLOWING MESSAGE RECEIVED THIS DATE--

1. ACORN ASKED TO INFORM BIRCH THAT HE WAS IN SHORE ALREADY AND NOW RETURNS TO COVE. THIS IS WHY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO REPRESENT BOXER LANE AT CELEBRATION IN SHORE. 2. WE ARE WORKING ON NEW TUG PROGRAM FOR NEXT YEAR. PLEASE ADVISE ON DAYS AND TIME SUITABLE FOR YOU. 3. ON SEPTEMBER 9 WE SENT SK. FIRST KEY GROUP 74502 LAST KEY GROUP 18228.

END

NY JAM

FBI NEW YORK

REC-77 100-428091-4252

OCT 29 1964

EX-117

File-5-WFO

100-428091

65 NOV 2 1964

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 23 1964

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

241 PM URGENT 9-23-64 SXC

TO NEW YORK,H --3-- ATTENTION MR. [redacted]

b6
b7C

FROM DIRECTOR

SOLO

IS-C

PADOCK PUB

FOLLOWING MESSAGE RECEIVED THIS DATE.

NR ONE SEVEN THREE GR TWO NAUGHT NINE

NUMBER ONE. ACORN ASKED TO APPOINT SOMEONE ELSE TO REPRESENT BOXER LANE AT ONE HUNDRED VINE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION IN SHORE, SINCE ACCORDING TO HIM HE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ARRIVE IN SHORE IN TIME. NUMBER TWO. IN CONNECTION WITH SCIENTIFIC SESSION DEVOTED TO ONE HUNDRED VINE ANNIVERSARY, WHICH WILL START IN HOTEL ON SEPTEMBER TWENTYNINE, IS IT POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO ENTRUST BARK, IF YOU HAVE NO OTHER PLANS, TO MAKE SPEECH AT SESSION. NUMBER THREE. BARK INSISTS ON IMMEDIATE PAY TO HIM ROYALTIES FOR BOOKS PUBLISHED IN NEST, SAYING THAT THIS WAS AGREED WITH YOU. HE CONTENDS THAT HE NEEDS MONEY TO PAY PUBLISHING HOUSE DEBTS AND HIS TRAVEL COST TO EUROPE. ADVISE US ON OUR ANSWER TO BARK WITHOUT DELAY. NUMBER FOUR.

EX-117

REC-7 100-428091-4253 1E-5-WGS

6 OCT 29 1964

65 NOV 2 1964

100-428091

PAGE TWO

NOVIK /REPEAT/ NOVIK WILL BE INVITED BY LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. OFFICIAL INVITATION WILL BE SENT TO HIM TO FRANCE /REPEAT/ FRANCE, WHERE IT IS KNOWN HE WILL BE IN A FEW DAYS.

FIRST KEY GROUP 74714, LAST KEY GROUP 57332.

END

A

JLW

FBI NEW YORK

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
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Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 8, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On 10/1/64, a radio transmitter, using procedures and mannerisms identical with those used by the transmitter in captioned case, was heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland. The personnel at Midland felt it was the same transmitter.

A message, NR 396 GR 172, was heard and copied at that time. This message was examined in the Cryptanalysis-Translation Section to determine if it could be deciphered.

This examination determined the message was not enciphered with the SOLO key and was not decipherable, having characteristics of one-time keying.

ACTION:

For information.

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

REC-100-428091 11/25/64

EX-117

29

6 OCT 27 1964

1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

PWP:mmg
(6)

2 mcb COPIES
FBI ANNEX
OCT 20 1964
65 NOV 2 1964

Discussed with Downing 10/13/64. Lab will explore possibility of expanded monitoring at Midland or possibility of checking out through NSA without endangering informant and will keep us advised of possible action to take - FJB/CDS

Midland Radio Station Supervisor instructed 10/19/64 to maintain continuous monitor for next 2 weeks to establish transmission patterns, additional frequencies and call signs used, etc. & report same to Bureau as information is obtained. -4 lew

10-1-64 10/8/64

TO MR DOWNING

FROM A W SMYTH

RE SPECIAL MONITOR NR2. STATION WAS NOT HEARD AT TIMES OR ON FREQUENCIES CALLED FOR IN SCHEDULE FOR THURSDAYS DURING OCTOBER. HOWEVER, AT 1346 GMT A STATION USING THE CALL CDJ BEGAN TRANSMITTING ON 14462.25 KCS.
THIS STATION USED IDENTICAL PROCEDURES AND MANNERISMS AS ON SPECIAL NR2. FOLLOWING MESSAGE WAS TRANSMITTED ---

NR 396 GR 172

98312-92918-96837-60936-60639--52471-13616-96196-43547-17195
57667-10339-14222-45419-85337--42356-54938-94473-50864-65704
47415-50061-53283-77113-62724--99933-38730-53336-46618-22156
71454-98024-99324-43410-83382--07519-60377-06485-89010-03319
96128-92187-79580-39770-13146--29286-25638-77200-57010-57462

06362-15897-32737-84560-79075--63544-72139-86322-61886-33098
24890-22045-32242-89949-97891--18288-03139-75551-78203-44810
99774-01347-46383-87944-65500--24105-43558-89651-18740-81884
49436-58289-25923-27027-94743--04999-76630-38282-49542-40270
02944-64523-05590-32099-33300--27745-99913-71493-21442-51905

81901-93014-85432-28429-50818--73723-28487-77438-00573-48054
00832-95265-05801-73265-05061--49506-57329-76196-42874-46332
52280-41794-28348-03890-45625--54209-55037-90294-89401-67251
13100-04622-05838-12567-10221--86792-94291-02500-81190-68840
46041-46517-59112-55478-34956--35116-06580-84848-72442-75034

ENCLOSURE 100-428091-4-254

PAGE TWO

96335-13369-39972-38134-51845--65357-97790-48396-23043-45003

95759-14911-19309-56320-00691--43195-33097-65286-10253-40952

89862-03977

K

NOTE - LOCATED STATION AT 1416 GMT ON 13146 KCS SENDING CALL TAPE AND THEREAFTER REPEATED SAME MESSAGE.

END JJC

1430 ACF

ON THAT OTHER TFC THEY CANT DETERMINE THAT IT IS DEFINITELY THE SAME STATION AS IT CUD BE ANOTHER SYSTEM WHICH WE DONT HAVE BUT IT MAY VERY WELL BE THE SAME STATION YOU ARE IN THE BEST POSITION TO DETERMINE THAT AND BASED ON WHAT HE SENT - HEADING- FORMAT - ETC IT APPEARS TO BE THE SAME STATION ILL LET YOU KNOW IF THEY ARE ABLE TO LEARN A NYTHING MORE TKS CUL

OK - AND WE HERE ARE ALMOST POSITIVE IT IS THE SAME TRANSMITTER AS NR2 ALWAYS USES - ALSO THE SK I// APPEARS TO BE IDENTICAL AFTER HEARING IT FOR SO LONG ITS SORT OF A CHARACTERISTIC SIGN WITH THE OP

ROGER OK WE WILL LET YOU KNOW ANYTHING FURTHER TKS

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/26/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-~~648091~~)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

5-

On 10/26/64, NY 694-S* transmitted to the Soviets -- through the secondary channel, ISIDORE NEEDLEMAN -- two ciphered messages, the plain texts of which are as follows:

"To CCCPSU - Very urgent

"Most imperative your answers to questions I raised regarding new CPSU leadership be furnished next hours. We consider this an emergency; therefore our radio alerted to stand by Tuesday and Wednesday at same radio time schedule to receive concise answers until I learn from MORRIS CHILDS.

GUS HALL"

"For MORRIS CHILDS - International Affairs Committee, CPUSA.

"Secretariat decision curtailed Hawaiin trip. Have now returned Center. Situation in USA press, and the CPUSA now more pressing than ever.

GUS HALL"

The above message, according to NY 694-S* reflects that GUS HALL, at the request of the CPUSA Secretariat, is returning from Hawaiin trip to New York City.

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM AM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-7 100-428091-4255
EX-112
6 OCT 29 1964

ACB:msb
(7)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 2 1964

HALL is indicating to the Soviets that he is being questioned by the press in the U.S.A. and also by Party functionaries for an explanation of the recent change in the Soviet leadership.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/26/64

Transmit the following in _____ *(Type in plain text or code)*

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED *(Priority)*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel dated 10/8/64.

NY 694-S* advised that the correct phone number to be utilized by him during February and March 1965 in instances where the Soviets specifically request him to acknowledge receipt of a radio message is YU 9-9212. It was previously reported by NY 694-S* as YU 9-9112, a non-existant number.

The location of phone number YU 9-9212 is a sidewalk public telephone booth located at the northeast corner of Fifth Avenue and 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(AM RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
1 - NY 105-45740 (CHUCHUKIN)(341)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-7 100-428091-4256

EX-117

6 OCT 29 1964

JDO:msb
(11)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 2

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B) 10/27/64

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - R. C. Putnam

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 9/15/64.

Relet furnished copy of an article authored by Timur Timofeev, Deputy Director of the Institute for World Economy and International Affairs, in Moscow, Russia. The Bureau was requested to furnish your office a translation of this Russian-language article.

Pursuant to your request, there is attached the original and one copy of the requested translation.

Enclosures (2)

RCP:pah
(4)

NOTE:

The article referred to appeared in the August, 1964, issue of the Soviet publication "Kommunist," a journal published every 20 days by the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

1 - CLOSURE

REC-7 100-428091-4257

EX-117 6 OCT 26 1964

MAILED 10
OCT 26 1964
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

65 NOV 2 1964

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

On Evaluation of the Groups in the Ruling Camp of the U. S. A.

In his time, V. I. Lenin sharply criticized those political leaders, who did not understand the necessity for adopting a skillful policy and flexible tactics in the struggle against imperialism, and who, particularly were not able to see and utilize contradictions between different class groups in the enemy camp. Lenin wrote in his book, "The Child Disease of 'Leftism' in Communism," that diversions among different representatives of the imperialist bourgeoise "are absolutely unimportant and petty from the point of view of pure, that is, abstract communism, which has not yet matured to practical mass political action. But these differences are extremely important from the point of view of practical action of the masses." (Works, Volume 31, page 75) (Italic is ours -- T. T.).

How urgent these words sound also in our day! They allow the revelation of the erroneous thoughts, which the newspaper, "Akakhata" publishes. For example, the anonymous author of the article in "Akakhata" maintains that allegedly, the struggle of the communists of other countries has a differential approach to various groups and representatives of American imperialism and means, in the end, declaration of the fact that the nature of imperialism has "changed." The publishers of "Akakhata" declare that distinguishing the ruling circles of Western countries into a "war group" and into a group, which advocates peaceful coexistence whether they wish a general nuclear war at present or not, is "a rejection of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism on imperialism, and is an occupation of the counterrevolutionary positions ..." etc.

But it is written in black and white in the Declaration of 1960: "The definite part of the bourgeoise of the developed Western countries, who soundly evaluate the correlation of forces and serious results of a modern war, also advocate the policy of peaceful coexistence." It is known that representatives of more than 80 communist workers' parties signed the Declaration. Perhaps, "Akakhata" will present them all as "apostates" of Marxism-Leninism and as counterrevolutionaries?"

V. I. Lenin said repeatedly that communists should consider differences and contradictions among different groups and trends, which were existing and which exist among the

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TRANSLATED BY:
[redacted]
10/22/64

ENCLOSURE 100-428071-4257

monopolistic bourgeosie in the imperialistic governments. He emphasized that one should have a different approach to the "sound manifestations of the bourgeosie and of the governments" on one hand, and to the adventure elements, on the other. (Works, Volume 33, page 114).

Lenin teaches that the presence of valid contradictions in the camp of the imperialist bourgeosie appears quite often as an opposite factor. Such contradictions have objective foundation. Furthermore, a distinction between positions of the individual groups of the domineering classes on this or that concrete problem is unavoidably becoming deeper, especially with the increase of the difficulties encountered by imperialism inside a country and in the international arena.

The editors of "Akakhata" permit rude errors and miscalculations in their evaluations of contemporary imperialism and its policies.

They claim that allegedly, only one, the most aggressive and the most reactionary policy is possible on a social and economic basis (in this case, on the basis of the big monopolist capital). Half a century ago, V. I. Lenin called such a policy, "a caricature of Marxism." Of course, it is characteristic of the monopolies to strive for reaction as long as imperialism exists.

But V. I. Lenin emphasized that this does not exclude at all the fact that different political "superstructures" such as monarchies or republics, are possible under imperialism; that the policy of the bourgeosie may be different and may consist of open terror or application of the tactics of concessions and reforms. Not only the economic basis but also the correlation of the struggling class groups inside of the country and in the international arena influence the concrete policy of the ruling circles of the capitalist countries, its zigzags and vibrations.

Though, the capitalist class acts usually as one front against the proletariat and the socialist countries, imperialism cannot be presented as something monolithic. Such a schematic and simplified treatment of monopolistic capital of the U. S. A. as well as of any other imperialistic country, is not consistent from an economic or political point of view.

It is known that a monopoly does not liquidate competition. Therefore, different financial and oligarchical competing groups exist in America and in any other country of plutocrats.

The working people and their Marxist-Lenin vanguard are not indifferent as to conditions and the concrete correlation of forces existing in the camp of the imperialist bourgeoisie; to the methods applied by the different bourgeois groups in pursuing their policy; in how far the bourgeosie is compelled and can proceed in its maneuvering; under what conditions the proletariat and its class organizations conduct their activities, that is, whether under conditions of open fascist policy dictatorship or under the conditions of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. All this is very important for the strategy and tactics of the communist and workers' movement.

Lenin thought that victory over the class enemy could be won only by the most thoughtful, careful, cautious and able utilization .. of any, crack, no matter how small, between enemies; by utilization of any contradiction of interests among the bourgeosie of different countries and between different groups or types of bourgeosie inside of individual countries. However, one who did not understand this, one who did not understand a single grain of Marxism and of scientific contemporary socialism in general." (Works, Volume 31, page 52).

Communists should be guided by this Lenin approach in their present evaluations of American imperialism, particularly, in their evaluation of the late President Kennedy. John F. Kennedy had been expressing the interests of the American state-monopolistic capitalism under the new conditions which were caused by a sharp weakening of the U. S. positions in the international arena. He was compelled to consider the rise of the world socialism, which entered the decisive phase of the economic competition with capitalism. One also should not forget that the working class, farmers as well as the middle classes and, in some case, the definite part of the nonmonopolistic bourgeosie, which is oppressed by the powerful monopolies, oppose monopolistic capital of the U. S. A. The ruling circles of the United States cannot help but consider also the growing struggle of the twenty million Negro people, who demand equality and complete liquidation of the disgraceful system of racial discrimination.

All this has compelled and still compels leaders of the U. S. Government to maneuver. They are obliged now to protect the positions of the American monopolies under social, economic and political conditions, which are more complicated

than before. It is not accidental that Kennedy proposed to the American ruling circles such problems as, for example, the increase of the rate of "economic rise," of the U. S. A.; definite improvement of civil rights for Negroes, and so on. According to his calculations, these and some other propositions should have raised the falling international prestige of the United States.

Can one say, that even John F. Kennedy, during his Presidency, pursued consistently the course, which answered the requirements of the moderate, sound and sensible representatives of the American bourgeoisie? Of course, not. It is enough to mention the invasion of Cuba by the American hirelings; the race for armaments, which was carried out by the Kennedy Administration; the number of nonpolitical undertakings in the spirit of "the cold war," and the persecutions of 1961-1963 of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and of other U. S. progressive forces.

At the same time, it would be wrong to define the policy conducted by President Kennedy, from the position of the most adventurous and aggressive ultrareactionary circles of the American monopolistic capital. Comrade Gus Hall was quite right when he, expressing the opinion of the leaders of the Communist Party, U. S. A., emphasized that "it is necessary to make a proper differentiation between the Kennedy Administration and the ultrarightists." Thus, Gus Hall stated in 1961: "The Kennedy Administration is taking a contradictory course, which is explained by the instability of the imperialist position of the U. S. A., and by the new correlations of forces.... His waivering policy is also the result of the pressure of the wide masses in our country."

Unquestionably, the true Marxists have always approached the various groups of the ruling circles of the U. S. A. differently. Let us recall, for example, that V. I. Lenin discussing "a crisis of the bourgeois parties," in his article, "Results and Meanings of the Presidential Elections in America," (of 1912), did not approach the parties of the American bourgeoisie with the same measure and made a distinction between positions of the three bourgeois candidates, W. Wilson, T. Roosevelt and W. Taft.

We recall also the principal position of the world communist movement on these problems, say in the 1930's. It is well known that leaders of the Communist International insisted upon the necessity for the mobilization of the masses with the purpose of building a single anti-fascist and anti-military front. They emphasized that it is important that

communists differentiate between forms and types of class domination of the bourgeoisie, and individual groupings in the bourgeois camp. G. Dimitrov pointed out in his report at the 7th Congress (1935) that ignoring these differences would be a serious mistake; that the working class should be able to utilize frictions skillfully such as the struggle of individual groups in the fascist camp.

This was the time when the leaders of the C. P. C. also did not see anything disgraceful or "adventurous" in a different approach to various political leaders and to various groups of the ruling camp of the U. S. A. For example, Mao Tse-tung stated in his article, "Dangerous Policy of Harley," written in July, 1945, that in his time the late President Roosevelt in the interests of the U. S. A. did not conduct a policy of assistance to Kuomintang in its armed struggle against the Communist Party of China. When Harley arrived in Yanan in 1944, as a personal representative of President Roosevelt, he approved a plan on abolishing of one party dictatorship of Kuomintang proposed by the Communist Party of China, and creating a democratic coalition government. Remarking that later, as U. S. Ambassador, Harley had suddenly "made a sharp turn and denied what he said in Yanan," Mao Tse-tung wrote: "Of course, it is not only Harley's personal point of view but that of a whole group of people in the American Government." But this is a wrong and dangerous point of view. At that very time, Roosevelt died. Harley returned from Washington to the American Embassy in Chuntsin beside himself with joy. In those days, representative of the C. P. C. mentioned the danger of Harley's policy and of the policy of the group of the ruling circles of the American imperialists which he represented, on one side, and on the other hand, the fact that "some portion" of the American public was worrying on account of the dangerous policy presented by Harley in China, demanding that it should be changed.

The question is, who was right? Was Mao Tse-tung right in July, 1945, making a distinction between the groups of the ruling class of the U. S. A., and paying tribute to the realistic policy of Roosevelt, remarking that representatives of the more reactionary American imperialism of Harley and others, were happy beyond themselves on account of the death of the American President, or the publishers of "Jen Men Jih Pao" and of "Akakhata," criticizing now the right approach of the fraternal parties as "adventurous" and as "sliding" to counterrevolutionary positions?"

Of course, F. Roosevelt, as well as John Kennedy were political leaders of American imperialism. They both strove to protect the positions of the monopolistic capital of the U. S. A. with more or less realistic consideration of changes, which were taking place in the world. Basically, they both acted objectively in the interests of the ruling class of their country. On a whole, "the New Deal" of Roosevelt as well as the Kennedy policy of "the new frontier" protected radical interests of the American state-monopolistic capitalists.

However, it would not be right, to be limited only by these statements. The working class is not indifferent to the methods used for conducting the policy of the ruling monopolistic circles at the moment, or to the concessions these circles are ready to make under the influence of a class struggle of the working people and under the influence of a struggle of the two systems; it is not indifferent to a question on frictions and contradictions, which are roused by such a policy of concessions among different groups of the bourgeoisie.

Do the publishers of "Akakhata" really believe that the working people of America are indifferent as to who will win during the Presidential elections of 1964 in the U. S. A.? Will they assure that the attack of the forces of the extreme reaction, which particularly, was expressed by the seizure of power by the ultraright elements of the Republican Party, does not change anything in the contemporary political life of the U. S. A., and does not raise new problems and goals to be confronted by the democratic forces of America?

Are the publishers of "Akakhata" able to question the validity of the positions of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which was described as follows by Comrade Gus Hall at a mass meeting of July 9, in New York? "If the left wing forces of 1964 will act under the slogan, 'There is No Difference Between the Candidates,' this will be the most effective support for the extreme candidates...." Is there really no difference as to whether a hundred Birchists, who are striving for official positions, will suffere a defeat or not? We believe that there is a big difference.

Communists have no right to ignore the facts, which speak for the activities of representatives of the most reactionary and of the most aggressive circles of monopolistic capital.

Harm of the Neo-Trotskyist Concepts

Indeed, if one will follow the logic of the Chinese leaders and of the observers of "Akakhata" one may believe that the taking of power by the ultra-right elements of the imperialistic countries would be most useful to the working classes. A "high ranking" member of the C. P. C. Government (who was interviewed with Che'n Yi, Minister of the Foreign Affairs of the Chinese People's Republic, when he was interviewed by the editor of the Austrian newspaper, "Kurier") made literally the following statement:

"Goldwater would be good for the U. S. A. and for the world, because he would aggravate the internal situation and would speed up the process of its development."

On its own part, publishers of "Akakhata" attempt to create some theoretical base for this irresponsible political position. The author of the article, "Kennedy and American Imperialism," criticizes the line of the C. P., S. U., and of other fraternal communist parties for the struggle, first of all, against the reactionary and more aggressive circles of the imperialist camp. Using prerevolutionary phraseology, and following the Peking leaders, the author of "Akakhata" "slides down" to the platform of Neo-Trotskyism; in fact, he advocates the Lenin concept, "the worse it is, so much the better it is."

Thus, "Akakhata" quotes a well-known theory of the classics of Marxism on two methods applied by the bourgeoisie in the struggle for their interests: the method of violence "or of liberal reforms" and the method of concessions; the newspaper points out that lately the American imperialists resort, "depending upon the situation, to one of the methods or apply both methods combined," (generally speaking, it is correct). However, it asserts, literally the following:

"The imperialist 'liberal' policy and the policy of concessions are even more dangerous than the policy of violence."

But who of the Marxists-Leninists will agree with a similar position? Communists never considered methods of pure violence and terror and the policy fraught with war catastrophe as "less dangerous." The Communist Parties instruct the masses in snatching new and important concessions in steady attacks against the bourgeoisie. Communists are against waiting for a

certain "X" day, and against connecting the prospects of an increase in the revolutionary movements with military and economic cataclysms.

It is known that one of the "theoretical points of the false Trotskyist scheme of 'permanent reaction' was an attempt to attribute perspectives for the rise of workers' movement to wars, to terroristic methods of the domineering bourgeoisie, to economic catastrophe and violence, and to different cataclysms, which are characteristic of Trotskyism.

But don't the publishers of "Akakhata" occupy the same position at present? They sabotage the movement for prevention of a nuclear world war. Furthermore, acting according to orders from Peking, they call more openly to replace the ending of the manufacture of nuclear and hydrogen weapons, for giving the right to nuclear weapons for China; their opposition to the Moscow Agreement on the nuclear weapons test ban in the atmosphere is connected with this. This has acquired a form of open opposition to the peace policy of the USSR, and to the course on reducing of international tension. It is not a special secret as to where these trends and theories come from. Mao Tse-tung openly said during a conversation with leaders of the Communist Parties of Latin America:

"I personally like international tension. In some countries a prejudice exists that international tension is not good for the people. But the Communist Parties can be developed faster under conditions of international tension, and the tempos of their development can become more rapid." In reality the newspaper, "Akakhata," is supporting the analogical position.

However, life proves the inconsistency of such reasoning by the advocates of the principle, "The worse it is, so much better with it is." Historical experience proves that the forces of extreme reaction can easier attack the proletariat, to weaken its positions, to contaminate the definite classes of working people with Chauvinist poisoning, and to destroy the progressive organizations under conditions of aggravation of international tension. Is it not a fact that the worst revelries of McCarthyism in the U. S. A. and the aggression of forces of extreme reaction in a number of other capitalist countries were observed during the years of the Korean War?

Contrary to this, the facts indicate that under peaceful conditions and during the reduction of international tension, the working class and its allies attain important successes, especially, at present when the correlation of forces has been radically changed on behalf of socialism. During the last few years, without world war and its consequences, the policy of peaceful coexistence has attained successes such as the

revolutionary struggles in Cuba, in Algiers, Yemen and Zanzibar.

During these years, a score of states in Asia and in Africa have attained their national independence. During these years, workers' movements in many imperialistic countries made successful progress, winning one position after another in a steady struggle against [illegible]oppression by the monopolies. This shows that communists are not indifferent to the concrete conditions under which they have to conduct their struggle. Whether it is in the atmosphere of unruly military hysteria and fascist repression or under more pleasant international and domestic conditions.

The author of the article from "Akakhata" has the wrong approach to the evaluation of those concessions, which are taken by the proletariat in persistent class battles with the bourgeoisie. Is it right to consider such mass struggles as social and economic reforms (including struggles for nationalization, for democratic control over nationalized industries for increasing of the rights of the industrial unions, etc.), in Italy, France, Belgium and Japan, which have greatly increased during the past years?

Of course, making such forced concessions, the ruling bourgeoisie considers its own goals, hoping to stop the class struggle. But Neo-Trotskyists and Marxist-Leninists make the opposite conclusions. These doctrinaires state that the bourgeois and right socialist reformists strive, with the aid of such concessions, to spread illusions and implement "class cooperation" among proletarians. Doctrinaires state that allegedly reforms are "dangerous," and undesirable, and therefore, the working class should not advocate pressure upon the bourgeois governments. Ideologists of contemporary Trotskyism attempt to separate by a "Chinese Wall," the struggle for "final goals" and the present struggle of the masses for important socialist and economic goals. They criticize slogans of the radical elements, and other demands of the fraternal Communist Parties from the "left-opportunistic" and dogmatic positions, stating that at present, the risk of using them by capitalism exists. Following in the footsteps of the Trotskyist ideologists on this question, the author of the article from "Akakhata," advocating the concept of "danger" regarding reforms on the inexpediency of influence of the working class upon bourgeois government, ably separates the struggle of the working people for radical reforms from "the revolutionary struggle against monopolistic capital."

As it is known, V. I. Lenin had a different approach to these questions. He never stated that reforms gained in the course of the mass struggle against the bourgeosie, could be used by the working class as a basis for further attacks. Lenin emphasized that an active political and economic struggle by the masses "is capable of resulting in real gains for the workers," and "to change partial and hypocritic reforms," on the grounds of a given order, into supporting points of the advancing workers' movement toward a complete emancipation of the proletariat." (Works, volume 15, page 406).

In our days, common democratic and socialist goals of the workers' movement have come even closer. However, present dogmatists ignore an important position, which is in the Declaration of 1960, and which directs the Communists Parties of the capitalist countries in order "to do everything for the protection of interests of the working class and of the people's masses, for improving their living conditions and for increasing democratic rights and freedoms of the people without delaying this until the victory of socialism."

Under the demagogic flag of "defending Leninism" the publishers of "Akakhata" rudely misinterpret the Lenin theory of imperialism. This leads, particularly, to untrue and one-sided interpretations of a question on mutual relations between the U. S. A. and other imperialist countries.

In order to distract attention, the authors of the article created a "certain theory of a primary blow at the German-French imperialists," which allegedly is advocated by their opponents. Those, to whom they attempt to attribute this unessential theory, are accused of "justification of the principal enemy, which is American imperialism" But this is the easiest (though not quite the most honest) method of polemics: to reject reasons, which were created by the "critics" themselves. "Akakhata" has invented and "sucked from its fingers" such a theory, and now pounces upon its own invention with all its force.

Why is all this needed? Evidently, in order to make propaganda of wrong concepts, which are opposite to the Declaration. The essence of this is the change of the problem of a struggle against world imperialism, headed by the U. S. A., for a declaration of a struggle exclusively against American imperialism; in keeping a secret and even to manifest active resistance also to any organized system of struggle against West German, English, French and Japanese imperialism.

Such a one-sided and, consequently, wrong approach leads to the wrong course on the questions of the struggle for peace and against the aggressive policy of not only reactionary American circles but, say, of French and West German imperialists, representatives of which attempt to have nuclear weapons in their possession. The position of "Akakhata" on these questions, in many cases, rests upon the same inconsistent "arguments," as the theory of the so called, "an interspace zone," with the aid of which leaders of the C. P. C. attempt to justify their course for closer relations with French, West German and Japanese imperialists.

In their turn, such false concepts astonishingly coincide with some faulty "theoretical schemes of Trotsky, who had been attempting to adopt a misinterpreted analysis of imperialism for use in his own anti-Lenin concept on "permanent revolution." Thus, in 1926, Trotsky had been advocating an exceedingly simplified dogmatic idea that allegedly "only two concepts are struggling in the world: "American imperialism," and revolutionary Bolshevism." At the same time, he described the other countries as dependent and passive force. Trotsky ignored the influence of the basic antagonism of the epoch, that is, the antagonism between socialism and imperialism, upon the development of the mid-realistic contradictions. At present, "Akakhata," following Trotskyism, also drifts away on this question from the right class positions.

Misinterpretation of the Lenin theory on uneven development of capitalism, on the minimizing of the role of the basic contradiction of the epoch and of its influence upon the rise of contradictions between imperialists -- all this leads to re-evaluation of power and possibilities toward American imperialism. Ignoring new facts in the international policy, "Akakhata" denies the obvious facts, on the basis of which the communist movement came to a conclusion that though the U. S. A. remains the first economic and military power of world capitalism, its specific weight in production and trade in the capitalist camp is going down. It is a fact, that for example, earlier (until the 50's) the law on uneven development of capitalist countries facilitated the colossal strengthening of the economic and political positions of American imperialism in the world capitalist system; however, now, at this new stage of general crisis of capitalism, the same law does not act on behalf of the United States.

Where does the wrong course dictated by Peking lead under conditions of a capitalist country? For example, the wrong position taken by the leaders of the Japanese Communist Party in connection with a general strike of the industrial

unions of Japan, scheduled for April 17, 1964, proves where the course dictated by Peking can lead in practical life in a capitalist country. Not long before this date, leaders of the Japanese Communist Party criticized the strike in their speeches, in accordance with the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party (its Plenum, was held in July, 1964); this position was recognized as wrong. The basis of such a wrong position, which led to a prevention of a strike to the joy of the monopolies, was the underevaluation of the importance of the struggle against Japanese monopolistic capital.

Although, ultrarevolutionary slogans of the struggle against American imperialism have been declared many times in words by "Akakhata," in reality, its position is saturated with pessimism. Practically, its author does not believe in the ability of the world forces of socialism to subdue imperialism, and to prevent a new world war. Re-evaluation of the possibilities of imperialism, particularly of American imperialism, (to the will of which, allegedly all and everything in the world has been submitted); as well as underevaluation of the forces of world socialism and of the international and Japanese working class, is the real essence of the present position of the publishers of "Akakhata." But can communists agree with such a conclusion? Of course, not. Such a wrong position contradicts the revolutionary and well-founded scientific optimism, which permeates the Declaration and Statement of the program documents of Marxist-Leninist parties.

Development of international events, including the latest imperialist activities in Southeast Asia, in Cyprus, against Cuba and the Congo, demands a correct approach on the part of communists to the problems of a struggle against imperialism; it also demands strengthening of unity of all progressive anti-imperialistic forces.

However, C. P. C. "critics" of the general line of the international communist movement and their adherents among the publishers of "Akakhata" "slide" down to a dangerous path in this complicated and responsible situation. They lead to dissidence instead of unity. Furthermore, their "anti-imperialism" (which is purely declarative), is being changed in practical life by more and more open active anti-Soviet sabotage actions directed to the disorganization and weakening of the mass democratic movements. For example, this was made evident by the disgraceful anti-Soviet and factional tricks of some Chinese and Japanese leaders against nuclear weapons during the recent Tokyo Conference and also their actions

during the weeks following the conference. So this is the position of the dissenters in practical life; they conduct a verbal struggle with American imperialism, but in fact, they concentrate the main attack against the USSR, the Lenin policy, against C. P., S. U., and against the majority of fraternal Communist Parties.

This anti-Lenin nationalistic position should be exposed in the interests of the working class of all countries. The counteractive measures should be conducted against harmful policy of those, who, under the pseudorevolutionary mask, attempt to split the anti-imperialist front of the modern day revolutionary forces.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 10/22/64

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

ReBuairtel dated 10/17/64 captioned as above.

For the Bureau's information, CG 5824-S* did not up until 10/16/64 have any personal meetings or discussions with GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, at which the JACKSON matter referred to in reairtel could be brought to HALL's attention. When CG 5824-S* did meet with HALL in NYC on 10/16/64, it was HALL, himself, however, who was the individual that raised the subject matter of JACKSON and that individual's contact with the Soviet UN delegation and appeal for funds in connection with such contact.

When HALL raised this matter of JACKSON's contact with the Soviet UN representatives, HALL expressed no concern or disgust with the action JACKSON had taken. In fact, HALL indicated that perhaps in some ways JACKSON's appeal had been a good thing, particularly in view of the fact that it might have given additional weight to HALL's recent emergency appeal to the Russians for the $100,000 to be used in connection with the election campaign. Source

1-813RB
3-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Info)(RM)
1-Chicago

REC 12 100-428091-4258

RWH:MDW
(5)

11 OCT 30

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 4

noted that in view of HALL's apparent attitude on the JACKSON matter, he felt it quite indiscreet and inappropriate to push this matter with HALL and, therefore, could not attempt to follow a plan of action such as had been suggested in reBuairtel.

When discussing this JACKSON matter with HALL, HALL noted that it has been necessary for him from time to time to create a money crisis within the Party in order that those in the leadership do not become complacent on financial matters and so they do not get the idea that there are unlimited funds available to the Party. In addition, he stated he had to create such money crises in order to conceal the fact that this Party does receive a subsidy from the CPSU and that there are monies available other than from normal sources. He then noted that he felt that may be JACKSON's appeal for the funds reported could be taken as a substantiation for the success he was having in actually concealing the total available monies that the Party has.

CG 5824-S* stated that he pointed out to HALL, however, that HALL must be certain that none of the many Party leaders now going abroad get involved while abroad in discussing inner-Party matters, particularly finances, with the Russians because it is possible that in such situations the Russians could draw certain conclusions which might affect this Party's future financial aid. In view of CG 5824-S* admonition, HALL stated that the Russians should be told personally and that it should be reiterated through regular communication channels that they must ignore completely any crisis appeal for money made by such people as JACKSON, ALLEN, etc., and that they were not to discuss such matters with anyone, regardless of position or title in the Party, except HALL, himself, or CG 5824-S*. In addition, HALL stated he would personally talk to those individuals who would be traveling abroad or at least talk to the person who would be in charge of such delegation that they were, under no condition, to discuss with the Russians any matter relating to inner-Party affairs, particularly finances.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 27, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/27/64, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 285 GR 193, was sent.

The plain text is set forth below. The cipher text is attached.

NR 285 GR 193

WE HAVE RECEIVED LETTER OF BIRCH (Gus Hall) DATED 19 OCTOBER. WE IN HOTEL (Moscow) UNDERSTAND DIFFICULTIES WHICH YOU MET BECAUSE INFORMATION ON DECISION OF REFEREE (Central Committee) BAND (Plenum) HAD BEEN RECEIVED NOT LONG BEFORE ARTICLES IN PRESS APPEARED. ON OUR PART WE DID ALL POSSIBLE THAT YOU WERE INFORMED ABOUT DECISION OF REFEREE (Central Committee) BAND (Plenum) BEFORE PUBLICATIONS ON BAND (Plenum) APPEARED IN PRESS. DUE TO SEVERAL REASONS WE HAD NO OPPORTUNITY TO INFORM FRIENDS MORE IN DETAIL ON DECISION OF BAND (Plenum) AND WE ARE GOING TO DO IT IN NEAREST FUTURE. WE THANK BIRCH (Gus Hall) FOR SUPPORT AND GREETINGS SENT TO LEADERSHIP OF COACH (CPSU). WE TAKE OPPORTUNITY TO SEND OUR HEARTIEST GREETINGS TO BIRCH (Gus Hall) AND HIS FRIENDS. WE CONFIRM OUR INVARIABLE WILL AND DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH BOXER (CPUSA) LANE (Communist Party).

New York was advised of the above this date.

ACTION:

For information.

REC 12 100-428091-K-259

RECORDED

11 OCT 30 1964

SEARCHED

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:dek (8)

65 NOV 4 1964

10/27/64

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 27 1964
RADIO

10-27-64

TO MR DOWNING

FROM A W SMYTH

SPECIAL 2. FOLLOWING MESSAGE TRANSMITTED ON FIRST SCHEDULE --

NR 285 GR 193

88971-13868-87107-13938-06017--84247-76594-64845-09861-21880
54216-36742-45184-27234-20527--24542-82057-92203-12264-42010
93129-25130-77470-78808-09683--15631-81240-93961-27590-63799
79019-15965-29560-38505-56066--77391-66778-95858-32870-30995
94948-01558-20966-72501-83913--17634-64513-74088-76712-91381

49277-86117-30774-47397-25677--61103-45645-03865-39318-83005
79447-42765-28443-08920-40818--98349-84843-47001-73632-75006
69904-78825-02566-42080-82705--90470-32042-41929-98589-18646
84002-51743-90200-76754-85378--14475-49475-97516-76142-07033
83952-63682-30066-11566-95501--88805-19418-07573-63050-23912

93352-50314-47813-09692-70886--29835-40395-94444-23191-75774
62334-72757-41899-34618-66628--57695-59475-63530-50494-62343
39500-52450-82619-20611-88120--85946-86750-05905-05182-22639
74071-79039-11674-81691-49520--31341-99944-53439-76991-15392
42695-68125-55693-41898-75939--04191-95770-67973-71403-33050

ENCLOSURE 100-428091-4257

GR 151.....

39373-28104-97881-08941-86531--27805-59261-20884-88552-48686

34596-31758-29237-89260-84998--49671-83979-47723-56935-80517

69713-42874-47719-80262-69596--92365-17205-60087-28140-85910

67533-90615-97437-54685-16495--40187-08434-39043-16341-70088

16245-37229-02934

MESSAGE BEING REPEATED ON SECOND SCHEDULE.

END JJC

10-39 AM MTC

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson ✓
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 26, 1964

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/26/64, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 467 GR 32, was sent.

The plain text is set forth below. The cipher text is attached.

NR 467 GR 32
HUB (Morris Childs) ARRIVED ONLY ON SATURDAY. RESULTS OF ANALYSIS OF PAPERS WILL BE SENT TO YOU BY TUG (radio) IN A FEW DAYS BUT AFTER 28.

New York was advised of the above this date.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

REC 12 100-428091-42 Encl

RECORDED
11 OCT 30 1964

HS:mmg
(8)

SEVEN

EX-105 NOV 4 1964

10/26/64

NR 467 GR 32

02080 22433 66783 63928 12032 73817 83093 60181 28449 74002

78041 85077 73900 76731 54221 03101 01458 30080 25403 34895

81808 39224 08808 26000 59402 09029 34145 79470 85344 49957

66832 72251

ENCLOSURE

100-428091- 4260

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

FBI

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/26/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

On 10/24/64 the Chicago Office, through the cover legend address for CG 5824-S*, received a brief air mail letter from CG 5824-S* postmarked London, England, 9:45 a.m., 10/22/64. This letter, in the handprinting of CG 5824-S* with the interpretations of the Chicago Office incorporated in the parentheses, read as follows:

Dear Avery:

Tourists (CG 5824-S* and CG 6653-S) have little to write about but there is one incident (see CGairtel dated 10/21/64 captioned, "SOLO;IS-C") worth mentioning--the one about Broadman's (GUS HALL) boy (DANIEL RUBIN) not being able to find a copy of the magazine (the edition of the "World Marxist Review" which contained GUS HALL's article on the 100th Anniversary of the First International) while in Milwaukee (Moscow). As you know, the European edition (English language European edition of the "World Marxist Review") is printed in Great Britain. Since all printing presses were busy with the elections (British), they did not get around to this chore (publication of this edition of the "World Marxist Review") until just now. This edition will probably not reach the Milwaukee Office (Moscow) for another few weeks.

1-813RD

REC 12 100-428091-42

3-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Info)(RM)
1-Chicago
RWH:MDW
(5)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 4 1964

CG 134-46 Sub B

I ran into some lodge brothers (members of the CP of Great Britain) here who have the same attitude towards the Wisconsin elections and Milwaukee races (the recent changes in CPSU and USSR leadership) as the high potentate (GUS HALL) of my lodge (CP, USA).

We are continuing our tour and I hope we run into nice weather. Suppose you heard from Cousin Jerry (NY 694-S*) in the East. I wrote him a few days ago. Hope this letter finds you well and that you and the children are ready for the hard winter that the Farmers Almanac predicts (apparently CG 5824-S* is attempting to convey the idea that his stay abroad will be extensive and that perhaps the scheduled meeting of 12/15/64 will be held as had been planned).

Love,

Montgomery (CG 5824-S*)

The foregoing together with the noted interpretations was telephonically furnished to the New York Office on 10/26/64 for transmission to NY 694-S*.

4-650 (Rev. 10-6-64)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10-26-64

FROM : W. S. Tavel

SUBJECT: SOLO

Bufile: 100-428091

The above captioned file is presently maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division. You are requested to have the substantive supervisor, responsible for this matter, review the file to determine if it is necessary to continue to maintain the file in the Special File Room, or whether it may be returned to the regular file sequence. The appropriate notation should be made on this memorandum which should be returned to the Filing Unit, Room 1113 IB. This memorandum will be filed in the case file to record the action taken in connection with this review.

100-428091
NOT RECORDED

FEB 9 1965

LJB:amb
(2)

ADDENDUM: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION 10/26/64

This operation involves the extremely covert liaison activities of our informants, NY 694-S* and CG 5824-S*, between the Communist Party, USA, and Red China, the Soviet Union and satellite countries. It also involves our coverage of the top leadership echelon of the Communist Party, USA. In view of the delicacy of this operation and the necessity to afford it the utmost security, it is recommended that the file be continued to be maintained in the Special File Room.

WGS:sgw
R1/6

65 FEB 9 1965

Condition the same file should be retained in Special File Room
5/1/67

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/26/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

On 10/26/64 the Chicago Office received through a mail drop maintained for CG 5824-S* an air mail letter postmarked 12:30 p.m., 10/23/64, London, England. The content of this communication was a brief handprinted note prepared by CG 5824-S* together with two clippings from the British Press, unidentified. Set forth below is the verbatim content of this note together with the Chicago Office's interpretation which appears in parentheses:

Dear Norma:

The enclosed clips (from British Press, unidentified) is an excellent summary of the events regarding K's (Premier NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV) removal. The U.S. Press is left out because you are undoubtedly up to date on that.

These summaries and discussions with experts (apparently referring to individuals in the CP of Great Britain with whom CG 5824-S* discussed this matter) close to the scene bore out the above, even if the language is from the enemy point of view /Cap press/.

2 encl 8/3 RB

3-Bureau (Enc. 4)(RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Enc. 6)(Info)(RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
(5)

2-ENCLOSURE

REC 12 100-428091-4/26

EX-117

OCT 30 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 4 1964

I would suggest that it be retyped and given to Mr. Broadman (GUS HALL) pending other "news"-- if there should be any. Broadman's letter (this refers to the communication drawn up on GUS HALL's instruction which was addressed to LEONID I. BREZHNEV, First Secretary, CPSU, which CG 5824-S* carried with him to the Soviet Union, the content of which is set forth in full in CGairtel dated 10/20/64 captioned "SOLO; IS-C") was ok as it looks from here.

I guess it will be harder to write after today (this would indicate CG 5824-S* was departing England enroute to Moscow).

Best to all

Montgomery (CG 5824-S*)

In connection with the suggestion of CG 5824-S*, the Chicago Office has retyped the clippings received with the above communication and the original and one carbon copy thereof are being enclosed herewith for the New York Office together with an original copy and one carbon copy of CG 5824-S*'s letter. It is suggested that the originals of both of these items be turned over by New York to NY 694-S*. In addition, there are enclosed herewith for the Bureau two copies of the text of the clippings referred to by CG 5824-S*.



100-428091-4262

...RN ON KREMLIN Demands for explanation

...orld Communist movement yesterday reached the brink of self-...truction, and stopped just short of going over the brink while the Soviet leaders are given a chance to save what has been an internationa party from splitting into a multitude of national groups.

Suddenly, the parties that only a few years ago took no orders except from Moscow turned on the Kremlin with a fury that demands explanation and even rectification of the Khrushchev demotion.

No foreign party has publicly demanded the return of Mr Khrushchev to power, but many parties want to have the full details of what happened and why before they even consider approving the Moscow action. If they get no satisfaction, there is every possibility that some at least may tell the new Soviet leadership that they want to wash their hands of the whole dirty business.

The French party, which has of late been the most Moscow-oriented of the large foreign parties, has issued a statement more wounding to the Kremlin in its stark simplicity than the open criticism voiced for some days past by the Italian party. This said;

"The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party wishes to obtain full details and the necessary explanations concerning the conditions and methods under which the changes decided by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were carried out. This is why the Political Bureau decided to ask the CPSU Central Committee to receive a delegation of the French Communist Party."

As recently as Monday, the French party paper "Humanite" was saying that the decision was "the exclusive responsibility of the Soviet comrades." Apparently it is still their responsibility, but no longer quite so exclusive.

Unique position

This question of responsibility goes to the root of the matter, for the Communist movement is unique in being an international organisation composed of national parties which have in the past borne the blame for Moscow's actions without having any right or opportunity to influence them. Some parties, indeed, have been all but destroyed by free electorates that scorned them as the puppets of Moscow.

Now the Communist cry is "No annihilation without representation," and it is taking the form of demands to be represented at what would look to them like an impartial inquiry into the reasons and circumstances of Mr Khrushchev's dismissal.

An article in the Swedish Communist paper "Ny Dag" said that the manner of his removal was "unconstitutional" and leaves "a bitter taste in the mouth." The curtain, it said, had fallen overnight--"a grim contrast to the open electoral campaigns" in which millions of voters had recently decided in Sweden, Denmark, and Britain who would lead their countries.

After the recent Soviet party congresses, "it was the general opinion that the methods by which the new leaders have taken over from Khrushchev definitely belonged to the past. This opinion has now been shown to be wrong Khrushchev's fall is a new reminder of how long a way it is back to the norms which were introduced by Lenin. . . ."

Political crime

The Swedish party is thinking of the effect of the Soviet changes on its own fortunes, but its almost open advocacy of parliamentary elections for the Soviet Union is for a Communist a political crime rather than a deviation. Only reactionaries, according to Soviet propaganda in the past, advocate "free" elections in the Soviet Union.

The Italian party, which was the first to jump into the fray almost as soon as the news became public, has spoken through its elder statesman, Signor Terracini, words which might be easily regarded in the Kremlin as little short of counterrevolutionary: "The replacement

of Khrushchev has been carried out by a method that the Soviet people will not approve."

In a dispatch from Moscow, the Rome Communist "Unita" said that there must have been "some new grave fact, the last straw, that caused the members of the Praesidium to take the extreme decision" on Mr Khrushchev--but nobody knew what it was. When the correspondent of "Unita," Signor Boffa, who is probably the best-informed foreign correspondent in Moscow, is reduced to this kind of speculation, it can be taken for granted that the knowledge of the final cause of Mr Khrushchev's downfall is limited to a very small circle indeed.

It is certainly not to be found in the stories of the Khrushchev personality cult, agricultural mismanagement, of the "Chinese issue," which are being peddled in Moscow. All these issues, and many others on which Mr Khrushchev's management of affairs has been most vulnerable, have been around for a very long while.

The Danish Communist newspaper "Land og Folk" reports from Moscow that the question of Mr Khrushchev's retirement was decided at a Central Committee meeting last February, when he found himself in a minority after proposing that the speech just made by Mr Suslov on the Sino-Soviet dispute should be published.

Praesidium decision

The Central Committee does not decide such issues by a vote in which a minority or a majority could emerge. The decision is usually made by the Praesidium, which recommends a decision to the Central Committee, which then votes accordingly.

"Unita" seems to come nearest to the root of the matter when it mentions the possible relevance of Mr Khrushchev's statement to the Japanese parliamentary delegation. This was the statement in which he made the remark, later denied, that Russia had a "monstrous new weapon" which could destroy all mankind.

The alleged mistranslation was never explained away very convincingly. But this would not have been the first time that Mr Khrushchev had rattled a new weapon to impress those of his associates who were demanding more money to make Russia's defences more secure. And, as has already been pointed out in this correspondence, it was this issue of resource allocation which had indeed come to a head at the beginning of this month when "Pravda" published a statement by Mr. Khrushchev instructing the planners to draw up an economic blueprint that would, in effect, make it impossible for the economy to produce what the military wanted.

ITALIANS FACE A DILEMMA. From GEORGE ARMSTRONG Rome, October 21

The headline read: "Proclaimed today in Red Square--Khrushchevism without Khrushchev." The paper was the Communist-supported Rome daily "Paese Sera," which was joining its mother-journal, "Unita," in trying to minimise the events of last week in Moscow.

The trouble was that the story beneath the "reassuring" headline did nothing to confirm the headline. The Italian Communist Party is in a dilemma. The party leaders had long sought Mr Khrushchev's removal, regarding him as unstable and at least partly responsible for the break with China.

But Italy is to hold nationwide municipal elections on November 22 and the party in its newly chosen robes of defender of democracy in Italy is acutely embarrassed by the rude method by which Mr Khrushchev was deposed. Luigi Longo, the party chairman, says that the method is to be criticised, and Pietro Ingrao, a noted Communist spokesman, has said: "As a matter of principle, Moscow owes the world an explanation."

Italy not told

The Italian Communists understand that Mr Khrushchev was voted into oblivion by only one vote and that there is the danger of his attempting a comeback, a "danger" because it would mean more awkward headlines. They also express concern, privately, that Mr Brezhnev and Mr Kosygin may not endure even until the Italian municipal elections and that they will be forced to make way for the real masters of the Kremlin, Mr Mikoyan and Mr Suslov. Viewed in terms of local politics, these Kremlin upheavals are disastrous for the party image.

Some younger leaders in the Italian party are expected to urge tomorrow, at the meeting of the Central Committee, that the party seize this occasion to declare its autonomy from Moscow. Signor Ingrao is said to be particularly angry that the French Communists were notified about Mr Khrushchev one week before the event, while the Italian party, the largest in Europe, was told only afterwards. This would explain the decision made in Ivry on October 10 by the French Communists to oppose Khrushchev's excommunication of China and at the same time to condemn Togliatti's testament, which advocated more autonomy for the national parties.

Subsidised

The only Communists here who are going about with puffed-up breasts are the so-called "Cinesi," those Stalinists who defected from the party last year in favour of Mao and a return to Stalinist ideals. They are believed to be a very small group, located mostly in Northern Italy, and subsidised by funds from the Communist-Chinese Embassy in Berne.

Today, Roman walls are decorated with a benevolent picture of Joseph Stalin, with the following crowing words: "Roman Communists! Khrushchev has fallen! Stalin is vindicated! Long live our glorious comrade Stalin!" This poster is so damaging to the Communist election hopes that one may legitimately wonder which party paid for the posters.

100-428-911+4363

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

REC 12 2.7-9

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/20/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies and for the New York Office one copy of an informant's statement entitled, "Discussions and Briefing by Gus Hall, October 16, 1964."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was furnished by CG 5824-S* on 10/16 and 17/64 to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN.

(3) Bureau (Enc. 3)(RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Enc. 1)(Info)(RM)
2-Chicago
(1-A)134-46 Sub B 9)

RWH:MDW
(6)

REC 12 100-428091-4265

11 OCT 30 1964

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 4 1964

DISCUSSIONS AND BRIEFING BY GUS HALL, OCTOBER 16, 1964

At approximately 10:00 a.m. on the morning of October 16, 1964, GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), on the basis of previous arrangements, proceeded to the Prince George Hotel, 14 East 28th Street, New York City, where he contacted MORRIS CHILDS of Chicago. HALL had set up this meeting with CHILDS for the purpose of discussing certain matters and problems of which CHILDS was to be aware in connection with his future travel abroad and discussions with leading representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

When this meeting commenced, HALL was in a very foul and ugly mood. He was extremely upset by the removal within the past few hours of NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV from his leading positions in the CPSU and in the Government of the USSR. HALL complained bitterly that he had been embarrassed and placed in a very bad position because the CPSU had failed to notify this Party of the pending changes.

When CHILDS delivered to HALL a communication which had been received through Party channels dealing with the changes within the CPSU leadership which had just occurred in the Soviet Union, HALL remarked, "To hell with them, they should have sent this message through yesterday." Even when he was informed that the CP, USA had received excellent service on being informed regarding these momentous changes in the leadership of the CPSU and the Government of the USSR and that no message of a similar nature had ever been received by the Party in the past, HALL was not satisfied.

HALL then went on to remark that he did not believe the CPSU was telling this Party everything and that he believed the reasons given for KHRUSHCHEV's replacement were untrue. He said that he had some public meetings scheduled for Saturday and Sunday, October 17 and 18, 1964, and at that time was going to openly state that this Party knew nothing more regarding the changes of leadership in the USSR than had already appeared in the capitalist press and that the CP, USA cannot get a word on this matter any faster than the press.

100-428091-4283

HALL remarked that in his opinion the Russians should have informed the Party here at least four or five days ago of the pending changes and that if they had, he would not presently be in this embarrassing position. HALL noted that as he now looked back there had been recent signs of a pending change, but at the time he had no reason to expect that it would be forthcoming. He also noted that within the past few days the Hungarian Ambassador, whether to the United States or to the United Nations HALL did not state, returned to this country and sent to him, HALL, a long message in which he had discussed about everything except possible changes in the Soviet Union. On the basis of this message from the Hungarian Ambassador, HALL stated that he concluded that perhaps even Parties within the Soviet orbit had not been made aware of the imminent changes in the leadership of the CPSU.

HALL then very pointedly asked CHILDS "How soon can you be on your way? It is important that we know what the true situation is." CHILDS' response was that he was completely prepared to travel and would be out of the country that week end. CHILDS, however, pointed out to HALL that that individual must understand that his travel and other arrangements are very unique and that he must take precautions and care in order that he can successfully conclude his job for the Party. He also noted that perhaps because of the new conditions existing within the Soviet Union that some of the individuals with whom he has dealt in the past may "be out." CHILDS stated that he would have to feel out the situation carefully within the CPSU and determine exactly what changes mighthave been made within the key spots.

HALL then advised that he wanted to discuss briefly a few items which he would like CHILDS to take up while abroad. First of all, he wanted CHILDS to carry with him to the Soviet Union a copy of HALL's recent speech to the National Executive Committee, CP, USA meeting in which he dealt with the status of the ideological conflict between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China (CPC). HALL noted, however, that as of the time of this discussion he only had the original copy of the speech from which his report had been made, but he was having his secretary type up copies from the original and when he next saw CHILDS at 4:00 p.m., October 16, 1964, he should have such copies of his speech available.

HALL also noted that he wanted CHILDS to take up with the Russians the matter of FELIX GREENE and protest to them concerning the treatment that individual had been afforded.

According to HALL, the Russians did not treat GREENE right because he was supposed to have pro-Chinese leanings. Yet, they did not make any effort to correct GREENE's wrong conceptions. In addition, ALEKSEI ADZHUBEI, Editor of "Izvestia" and son-in-law of KHRUSHCHEV, had gotten into a "fight" with GREENE. HALL qualified the foregoing, however, by remarking that if the report was true that ADZHUBEI had been kicked out, then he, CHILDS, should not raise the matter of FELIX GREENE with the Russians.

The next matter raised by HALL dealt with the proposed December 15, 1964, editorial or preparatory meeting of CPs scheduled for Moscow. In this connection, HALL stated that in his opinion he did not feel that any of the recent changes within the CPSU leadership would or should bring about any postponement of the meeting and he was proceeding on the basis that such meeting would be held.

HALL then advised that he was going to give to CHILDS the original of the "ALBERTSON document" and wanted him to give it to the Russians in order that they could look at it. According to HALL, DANNY RUBIN, when in Moscow, had given a copy or a photograph of the ALBERTSON document to the Russians and their comment regarding the document which was made to RUBIN was that "the document is a phony and you have been taken." HALL then stated "Sure, we were taken. They say you have been had, but I want you to have them check the original."

CHILDS then noted that a number of handwriting experts throughout the United States had seen the original document and all who had examined it concluded that it was authentic. HALL's reply to this was, "Say there are perhaps 35 or 45 or even 55 handwriting experts in this country. They could have talked to all of them well in advance, don't you think? It would have been easy enough." HALL then remarked that the Party's inquiries with experts and other individuals who have worked in the civil liberties field show that the document has many inconsistencies which tend to show that "we have been taken."

At this point in their discussion, HALL noted that he had to leave but would rejoin CHILDS at 4:00 p.m. at the same location.

Subsequently, as noted, HALL did rejoin CHILDS at 4:00 p.m. HALL at this time was a bit calmer than he had been

during the morning session; however, he informed CHILDS that during the period of his absence he had been continuously harassed by numerous radio and television reporters for a statement of the Party on the changes which had occurred in the CPSU, and because he was ill informed could not respond.

HALL then remarked that he wants information fast regarding these recent events in the Soviet Union and that he was very concerned about them. He suggested that a message be sent immediately to the CPSU that they should open up certain avenues so that CHILDS could communicate with this Party and send information back regarding the recent changes in the CPSU. HALL felt that the Russians should also be advised that they should not take any steps which would hamper such communication by CHILDS with the Party here once CHILDS is abroad. He also informed CHILDS that he would be waiting for the information here and that if communications could not be gotten through, then the Russians should be told that they must allow CHILDS to pack up and come back even if it might be necessary for CHILDS to return at a later time for further negotiations on other matters.

In line with HALL's instructions, as noted above, a message was prepared and drawn for transmittal to the CPSU which read basically as follows:

"Comrade MORRIS CHILDS is now on his way and should be in the USSR in a few days. We hope that you will discuss with him some questions regarding the replacement of N. S. KHRUSHCHEV which have not thus far been made public. Comrade CHILDS has instructions to communicate with us. We hope that you will facilitate these communications. He has further instructions to come back for a time to discuss some of these matters that cannot be aired through communications, even if he would have to return for further discussions and the planned December conference. We favor the convening of the preliminary conference in December even if the broader one need to be postponed." The message was to be signed GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA.

HALL also commented at this same time that he wanted CHILDS to make it known and place it strongly before the Russians that he, HALL, was against any postponement whatsoever of the December 15th editorial meeting although he would not object to any postponement for the larger meeting set for 1965.

Specifically as to the delegation he would select to attend the December 15th meeting, HALL remarked that he had made no definite decision in this regard. However, "Regardless what, you MORRIS will be part of that delegation. I will make it certain the others definitely know this and are correctly informed. Don't worry, I will take care of this matter."

Then HALL repeated that he wanted a very large delegation to attend this December 15th meeting and this point should again be called to the Russians' attention. However, he was not going to demand that all of these individuals participate at the same time and that all of these individuals need not be considered as full delegates and can be named as alternates or even observers. He then stated that he, himself, may attempt to go and he will make a fight for a U.S. passport. If he gets his passport, he would first visit some Latin American countries and then some additional countries outside the Soviet orbit in Europe, and then finally see what he could do to get to Moscow.

HALL also instructed that when CHILDS arrives in Moscow, he should check to determine who had placed the invitation in the message received from the Russians on October 15, 1964, wherein he was invited to attend the November 7th affair here. Specifically, he was to determine if the invitation had been placed by a member of the Presidium or other high body or was just placed there by a lesser official. He remarked that he wanted an answer to this because he is scheduled to be in the Midwest during the period that this affair will be held and that unless there is some urgent reason for talking to some important CPSU official at the November 7th affair, he will not cancel out his Midwest commitments.

HALL then advised further that he wanted another message immediately transmitted in his name to LEONID I. BREZHNEV, First Secretary, Central Committee, CPSU. He stated that this message in essence should be as follows:

"Leonid I. Brezhnev
First Secretary
Central Committee
CPSU

"Dear Comrade:

"The world understands and accepts the fact that there can be differences that can and even do result in changes of

"leadership and that people do get old and sick. What it does not understand is any vagueness or an element of mystery while such changes are made. Any period of unexplained vagueness could result in damaging the prestige of the Soviet Union. We appreciate the problems of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in this matter. The bourgeois press can speculate on why certain changes but Communist spokesmen, under circumstances existing in the United States, can not say anything when they do not know more than what is appearing in the press. This creates unnecessary difficulties. This lack of knowledge and background does not add to the prestige of Communist leaders in capitalist countries who should be at all times some step ahead of the press.

"The retirement of Khrushchev and the transfer of his duties to other tested leaders, is of course, an internal concern to the members of the CPSU and to the citizens of the Soviet Union. We greet the leadership of the great Socialist country and welcome the public declaration on the part of the Central Committee, CPSU of last Thursday, October 15 that the CPSU will continue to promote the policy of peaceful co-existence as announced at the XX, XXI, and XXII Congresses of the CPSU. We also greet the announced intention of the successors of N. S. Khrushchev, in the posts of Party Secretary and State Premier, to carry forward the program of building a communist society at home, international solidarity of the workingclass and all the oppressed, and peace and friendship among the peoples of the world. This declared course will occasion no surprise among those who have learned from long experience to expect and highly value the role of Marxist-Leninists in blazing the trail for social progress.

"With warm fraternal greetings,
Comradely Yours,
Gus Hall,
General Secretary,
CPUSA"

After mentioning the foregoing, HALL caustically remarked that he was saving the text of the message that the Central Committee, CPSU, had directed to the CP, USA regarding the recent changes in their Party and state leadership and that if the CPSU comes out later with additional explanations which are at variance with those that they have furnished, he was going to raise hell and "stick the message up their noses."

In regard to DANNY RUBIN and the rest of the delegation which had recently been in the Soviet Union for a youth gathering, HALL mentioned that they had been mistreated by the Russians and he wanted his feelings in this matter made known to them. He explained that while the American delegation was there representing the leading capitalist country in the world, the Russians put the major emphasis on delegations of Latin Americans and "pip-squeak Africans." He stated that RUBIN had told him that he had noted a lot of opportunism among both the African and Latin American delegates, as many of such delegates and delegations had not taken any position in the ideological fight between the CPSU and the CPC. Yet, HALL noted, RUBIN and the rest of the American delegation fought hard all of the time for the Russian line and received no recognition.

HALL then commented that he was not now having WILLIAM PATTERSON go to Ghana. He stated that PATTERSON had consulted his doctor and the doctor noted that because of PATTERSON's age and history of past heart trouble that he would recommend against such travel. However, PATTERSON will still be a member of the November 7th delegation to Moscow. HALL then added that the Ghana trip on the part of PATTERSON really had not been necessary anyway because HERB APTHEKER had recently visited there. He described APTHEKER's trip as most productive and fruitful. In fact, the recent speech of NKRUMAH at the Cairo meeting of neutrals was, in essence, almost word for word that which APTHEKER had prepared for NKRUMAH. After NKRUMAH's Cairo speech and his return to Ghana, the Americans in Ghana, following the Chinese line, particularly SHIRLEY GRAHAM and those around her, were shocked. HALL felt that there had been good progress made in Ghana and that they were successfully countering the pro-Chinese line there. HALL also noted that NKRUMAH had advised APTHEKER that they would like the Party here to send over Negro and other Marxist teachers and in this connection HALL remarked, "We will send them."

HALL then stated that RUBIN had told him that while he was in Moscow he had been unable to find a copy of the "World Marxist Review" in which HALL's article dealing with the 100th Anniversary of the First International had appeared. HALL stated that CHILDS should check to determine whether the Russians had ever printed this article in the Russian language or attempt to determine perhaps if they had

burned or destroyed all copies of this publication. In this connection, CHILDS told HALL that he did not think this was true since the English language and other language translations of the "World Marxist Review" are made from a master copy which is initially published in the Russian language. HALL, however, wanted this matter looked into and an explanation found as to why his article could not be found in the Soviet Union.

HALL next asked CHILDS to find out when he was in the Soviet Union whether the Russians were aware that a great volume of English language material was being distributed by the Chinese in many countries. He stated that if they are not aware of this, he suggests that they take some action to see what can be done to counteract it. In addition, CHILDS was to find out if the CPSU was aware that the Chinese had recently held world conferences in Peking and Tirana, Albania.

HALL then noted that he wanted CHILDS to contact someone in the CP of Great Britain while he was abroad and set those people straight on a recent article published in an official CP of Great Britain organ. According to HALL, the British Party had published an article authored by MARTHA DODD STERN in which STERN highly praised the ROSEN student group which had visited Cuba. HALL wants the British told that this is an anti-Party and anti-Soviet group and that they should not publish such junk.

HALL then provided CHILDS with a number of copies of his recent speech before the National Executive Committee, CP, USA and the item which he had referred to earlier in the day. At least one of these copies was to be personally transmitted to the CPSU. In addition, he wanted CHILDS to make certain that a number of the other copies were mailed to various Parties throughout the world in order that his position and the CP, USA position in connection with the current CPSU-CPC differences would be clearly understood. Among the Parties and/or publications that HALL would like to have copies of this speech mailed to were the following: Spain, Portugal, Greece, Cyprus, South Africa, Senegal, "African Communist," Dominican Republic, Haiti, Paraguay, Mongolia, Syria, Algeria, Mexico, Bolivia, Peru, Yugoslavia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, British Guiana, Lebanon, Iraq, and Iran.

In regard to this speech, HALL noted that at one time he had considered the removal of a certain paragraph which appeared on page three. However, now he will not delete this paragraph and feels that it properly belongs in this report. This paragraph was as follows:

"It seems timely that to close one's eyes to the real nature of this split is the most harmful of all mistakes. It is the path to opportunism and capitulation. And to try to pass it off as only a disagreement between the CPs of the Soviet Union and China or to suggest that somehow it is a personal feud between Khrushchov and Mao Tse-tung, is but a further step along an opportunistic path."

HALL next noted that the Russians should be informed that the Party was going to give up on the "National Guardian" and that "we are going to turn the 'Peoples World' into a non-Party paper." He stated that the Party will attempt to reorganize the staff, broaden the paper, and make it a publication more consistent and meaningful to the left.

As to the "National Guardian," HALL stated that there is no question but that "Chinese money" is being used to finance this paper and the Russians should be so informed. He said that RUSS NIXON had recently been attempting to buy up the remaining outstanding stock in the "National Guardian" but had been turned down. In HALL's opinion, it was only with Chinese money that RUSS NIXON would have been able to have purchased such stock.

HALL then stated that the Russians should also be informed that the American Party is in a unique position to help them internationally on the racial question. He stated that the Party here has a good strong, Negro cadre and that they have received many invitations from Parties abroad for CP, USA representatives to visit and speak in African and Asian countries like Kenya, Ghana, India, etc. The Party here is now thinking of sending CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT of Chicago to India in mid-December to speak and visit with the Indian Party. The CP, USA is paying the expenses for such visits now, but it is believed that the Russians should pay in the future because their Party will also greatly benefit.

HALL then instructed CHILDS that while he is in the Soviet Union he should attempt to work out with any Latin American CP representative whom he finds there some arrangements for exchanges, both personal and otherwise, between the CP, USA and Latin American Parties. He wanted CHILDS also to find out why and how come the CP, USA had been the only Party in the Western Hemisphere not invited to the conference of Latin American CPs which was scheduled for late November, 1964, in Cuba.

In regard to money requests to be made to the CPSU as a subsidy for the CP, USA in 1965, HALL stated that he had no specific facts or figures that CHILDS should use in this regard and that CHILDS should formulate the request for this money on any basis that he deems suitable and supportable.

However, the Russians should be told not to pay attention to any crisis appeal for money made by such people as JIM JACKSON or JIM ALLEN, etc. In connection with such requests the Russians should completely ignore them and consider only money matters raised by either HALL or CHILDS. In addition, HALL stated that the Russians should be told that from time to time he has to "create a money crisis" in the Party in order that the leadership does not feel that the Party has unlimited funds available and because he must necessarily conceal the fact from the membership and leadership in general that monies are being received from the CPSU. CHILDS was heard to state that he would handle HALL's request for the Party subsidy as noted but must demand from HALL that this individual instruct any person visiting the Soviet Union to "keep their mouths shut regarding inner-Party matters, particularly finances." He further suggested that HALL must specifically inform such individuals as PHIL BART, who is presently scheduled to head up the November 7th delegation to the Soviet Union, that "BART and his pip-squeaks must say nothing." HALL agreed that he would talk to BART on this matter.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106-05

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 10/20/64

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

5-Henry (last)
RUEHER
BL
F
RWH

ReBulet dated October 5, 1964. U.S.

(Otto Henry) Henry

ReBulet instructed that CG 5824-S* be contacted for details of contact of OTTO WANGERIN by representatives of the CP of China. Because of preparations in connection with institution of the 16th Solo Mission, discussions of this matter with CG 5824-S* were temporarily delayed. However, in accordance with the request, this matter was taken up with him in New York on October 17, 1964.

(Elmer George) George

On October 17, 1964, CG 5824-S* advised SA RICHARD W. HANSEN that several individuals, namely [redacted], an individual who had been expelled from the CP, USA for ultra-left activities, and ELMER JOHNSON, both of whom are from Chicago, had been in contact with WANGERIN. These persons are presently outspoken supporters of the CP of China ideology and support the CP of China in the ideological dispute with the Soviet Union. In their contacts with WANGERIN, both [redacted] and JOHNSON have offered him some financial assistance, the extent of which is unknown, and have endeavored to get WANGERIN, a charter member of the CP, USA, to disavow allegiance to the CP, USA and support the Chinese position. Both [redacted] and JOHNSON individually and jointly have allegedly told WANGERIN that the CP of China would be happy to accept him and his wife in the Peoples Republic of China. According to CG 5824-S*, it is unknown upon whose authority the offer regarding the acceptance in the Peoples Republic of China was made, but it is known that as of early October, 1964, WANGERIN had not accepted their offer. Ill,

b6
b7C

The source further noted that it was the general feeling of the leadership of the CP of Illinois that both JOHNSON and [redacted] do have some contact with pro-Chinese elements in the United States and would undoubtedly be in a

b6
b7C

FBI/DOJ

(2)-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Info)(RM)
1-Chicago

EX-117

REC 12 100-428091 4 2 Le4

11 OCT 30 1964

RWH:MDW
(4)

65 NOV 4 1964

position to make some arrangements for the ultimate travel of the WANGERINs to the Peoples Republic of China if the CP, USA did not succeed in getting the WANGERINs accepted for medical treatment in either the USSR or Czechoslovakia.

FD-36 (Rev. 10-29-63)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/26/64

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-648091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

5-

On 10/26/64, NY 694-S* received, via radio, from Moscow the following ciphered message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"MORRIS CHILDS arrived only on Saturday. Results of analysis of papers will be sent to you by radio in a few days but after the 28th."

It will be noted that in NY airtel dated 10/22/64 it was reported that on 10/21/64 NY 694-S* transmitted to the Soviets a message to the effect that MORRIS CHILDS had the original BILL ALBERTSON letter and specimens for analysis and that the CPUSA requested that the Soviet analysis of the said letter be transmitted to the CPUSA before October 28th.

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM-AM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC 12 100-428091-4265

EX. 117

11 OCT 30 1964

ACB:msb
(7)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 4 1964

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106-03

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 10/22/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637A)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYlet, 10/5/64, setting out the Solo Funds transactions for September, 1964.

Due to typographical error the amount under "Debits" for 9/29/64, was reported as $18,000 whereas the amount given by NY 694-S* to LENA SCHERER on that date was $8,000 therefore the balance for the end of September should be corrected to read $570,595.00.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-128861 (CPUSA Funds-Reserve Funds)(42)
1 - NY 100-134637A (41)

JDO:mfd
(6)

100-428091-
NOT RECORDED
11 OCT 28 1964

INDEXED
CONSIDERATION

65 NOV 4 1964

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 28, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner FJB

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Previous memoranda advised that CG 5824-S* departed on Solo Mission 16 to the Soviet Union on 10/19/64. CG 5824-S* carried with him a personal message from Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, to Lenoid I. Brezhnev, First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, requesting the inside story concerning the recent political upheaval in the Soviet Union which resulted in the removal of Nikita S. Khrushchev from power. On 10/20/64, NY 694-S* at the instructions of Gus Hall, transmitted a message to the Soviets making reference to the message being carried by CG 5824-S* and stating that CG 5824-S* after being briefed on the reasons for Khrushchev's removal was to return to the United States to brief Hall in the event that this matter could not be aired through communications.

The Soviets beamed a coded short-wave radio message from Moscow to NY 694-S* this morning advising that CG 5824-S* would return to the United States in two days to brief Hall on the recent political changes in the Soviet Union.

ACTION:

For information. CG 5824-S* will be promptly debriefed upon his return and you will be advised as to the results of his mission.

100-428091

WGS:pah
(5)

REC 26

100-428091-4266

EX-102

11 NOV 2 1964

INT. SEC.

65 NOV 5 1964

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Belmont
1 - Evans

The Acting Attorney General

November 2, 1964

1 - Sullivan
1 - Branigan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Shaw

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Solo

My memorandum dated October 27, 1964, captioned "Soviet Personnel Intelligence Activities" furnished information to you concerning the recent political upheaval in the Soviet Union which resulted in the removal of former Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev from power.

Material contained in the enclosed memorandum, supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, sets forth the version of Khrushchev's removal which was furnished to the Communist Party, USA, by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is noted that the version of Khrushchev's removal furnished to the Communist Party, USA, differs materially from that set forth in my memorandum of October 27, 1964, which contained information supplied by a different source.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, we have classified this communication and its enclosure "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other officials of the Government.

REC'D-READING ROOM FBI NOV 2 10 26 AM '64

Enclosure

MAILED 2
NOV - 2 1964
COMM-FBI

REC 10

100-428091 - Ex. 26

100-428091

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)

11 NOV 2 1964

WGS:pdb
(10)

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" ~~TOP SECRET~~ in order to further protect his identity. See New York teletype 10-30-64, captioned "Solo, IS - C," and memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," dated 11-1-64, prepared by WGS:pdb.

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

65 NOV 4 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

REC X 10 encl

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/23/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies and for the New York Office one copy of an informant's statement captioned, "Material to be Used for Basis of Discussion with Communist Party of the Soviet Union Representatives on Question of Literature Sales in United States."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was furnished by CG 5824-S* on 10/16/64 to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN.

1 encl to 813RB

1-4 (3)-Bureau (Enc. 3)(RM)
1-New York (100-134637)(Enc. 1)(Info)(RM)
2-Chicago
(1-A)134-46 Sub B 10)
RWH:MDW
(6)

REC 10 100-428091-4268
EX-112
11 NOV 2 1964

2 ENCLOSURES

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 NOV 4 1964

MATERIAL TO BE USED FOR BASIS OF DISCUSSION WITH COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION REPRESENTATIVES ON QUESTION OF LITERATURE SALES IN UNITED STATES

GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), in connection with a briefing on matters to be taken up by a representative of the CP, USA with representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in the Soviet Union, turned over two items which had been prepared by PHIL FRANKFELD of World Books, New York City. The items provided by HALL were captioned, "M E M O" and "SALES TO PROGRESSIVE BOOKSHOPS," each of one page in length. According to HALL, these items could serve as the basis for discussion with literature people in the Soviet Union.

The full text of the above-noted items is set forth below:

"M E M O

"1) See attached sheet giving total paid orders from progressive bookstores, April-August 1964.

"2) Two of the progressive bookstores now receive books etc. directly from M/K, thereby eliminating New Era as wholesale-distributor. These are: Progressive (L.A.) and International (S.F.).

"3) The Morning Freiheit ordered 100-150 copies per issue of Sovetish Heimland. They are now receiving their copies directly from M/K. We have had to cut our order accordingly.

"4) No importer of English translations of Soviet books, etc. can possibly exist on the sales of English books. They depend in the main on the sale of Russian & Ukrainian language books.

"5) There is fierce competition between importers of Soviet books in our country. They can also be imported from abroad-England, France, Canada etc. without having to pay duty & other costs. One such importer in Chicago announces 'slashing price reductions' and offers prices which are almost impossible to meet, hard as one may try. By offering bargain basement prices, it tends to reduce the intrinsic worth of Soviet books in the English language.

ENCLOSURE 100-[illegible]/4268

"6) We continue to exist through the continued sale of out-of-print Marxist books & pamphlets. Despite sharp reductions in overhead (rent, utilities, labor etc.) the perspective is not clear as to whether we can continue much longer.

"7) We have paid out to M/K over $2,000.00 from June 25 to Sept. 2nd.

"a) We are committed by contract to run ads in the NY TIMES thru Nov. 6th amounting to $900.00. It must be paid by then.

"b) The last check I drew was on Aug. 31 for the week of Aug. 17-22nd. I have not been paid now for four weeks. The immediate prospects are bleak about being able to draw anything for the next two weeks at least.

"8) Some immediate steps would include receiving the balance due for advertising & promotion of M/K books for 1964. The possible arrangement of a monthly allocation as a service fee. Revisiting all accounts for new orders & re-orders, etc.

M/K referred to above is Mezhundarodnaja Kniga, the official Soviet exportor and importor of printed material such as books, newspapers, etc.

"SALES TO PROGRESSIVE BOOKSHOPS

April thru August 1964.

(This includes Books, Pamphlets, World Marxist Reviews & Subs)

BOOKSTORE	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST
Jefferson Bookstore	$150.00	$200.00	$432.96	$200.00	$220.00
Progressive Books	107.17	65.57	38.55	71.95	0 00
International Bookstore	14.10	86.80	22.20	76.10	59.23
Global Books	0 00	56.74	41.55	0 00	50.84
Modern Bookstore	31.24	24.44	10.00	14.65	34.62
Co-Op Books	0 00	39.55	35.23	0 00	44.90

BOOKSTORE	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST
Mary's Bookstore		$ 27.45			
New Era (Dalto) Bookstore		10.00			$ 10.00
Otis Hood			$ 17.25		
Minneapolis					15.00
East Bay					6.45

No orders received thus far from: Progressive, Int'l, Modern, Global, Co-Op for September.

GROSS SALES FOR JUNE 1964 -- $1,317.11

" " " JULY " -- 1,562.79

" " " AUGUST -- 1,184.94"

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

The Acting Attorney General

November 2, 1964

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI
NOV 2 1 43 PM '64

We have learned from a source which has furnished reliable information in the past that a Soviet official in the United States recently furnished the following information to Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA.

On October 28, 1964, Chinese Premier CHOU En-lai summoned the Soviet Ambassador to China and told the Ambassador that the Chinese have always desired unity with the Soviets. CHOU suggested that a Chinese delegation be invited to attend the November 7th celebration of the Russian Revolution in Moscow. CHOU indicated that if the Soviets agreed to this suggestion, he personally would head the Chinese delegation. CHOU further suggested that satellite countries be advised of the Soviets' invitation to the Chinese and that delegations from all satellite countries, except Yugoslavia, be invited to the celebration. CHOU also stated that if the satellite countries deemed it unwise to invite the Chinese to the November 7th celebration, the Soviets should invite a Chinese delegation to the Soviet Union as soon thereafter as possible.

MAILED 8
NOV 2 - 1964
COMM-FBI

The Soviets have advised all satellite countries as requested by CHOU, and all agreed that a Chinese delegation should be invited to attend the November 7th celebration in Moscow. As a result the Soviets have formally invited the Chinese to attend the celebration. The Soviets consider this to be the first step in re-establishing unity with the Chinese and have indicated they will do everything consistent with the Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960 to make peace with the Chinese.

100-428091

~~TOP SECRET~~

WGS:rbm
(10)

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

The Acting Attorney General

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, we have classified this communication "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other officials of the Government.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 694-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. See New York teletype 10/31/64, captioned "Solo, IS - C," and memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," dated 11/2/64, prepared by WGS:pah.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63) 10/27/64

SAC, [redacted] (100-74560)

CP, USA & FOREIGN
IO-C
(CC: [redacted])

[redacted] FOLLOWING [redacted], SHOULD, [redacted] BE CITED [redacted], BE INCLUDED IN A SERIES OF CASES OF [redacted] CAPTIONED [redacted].

Reference is a summary of results of the NYO's efforts to trace the ultimate use of SOLO funds by the CP, USA and its allied organizations.

AFTON [redacted]

On 8/27/64 and 9/22/64, cash deposits of $2,705.00 and $[redacted], respectively, were made to the account of Afton Tours, maintained at the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, [redacted] 5th Avenue. The deposits consisted of one hundred, fifty, twenty and ten dollar bills.

On 9/23/64, a deposit of $2,040.00 consisting of one hundred, twenty and ten dollar bills was deposited to the above account.

None of these bills was identical with SOLO funds.

4 - Bureau (RM)
(1-[redacted]) (TRACING OF AMERICAN MONEY USED BY SOVIETS IN [redacted] OPERATIONS)
(1-100-428091) (SOLO - TRACING OF SOLO FUNDS)
1 - NY ([redacted]) (PUBLISHERS [redacted] BOOKS, INC) (RM)
1 - NY (100-[redacted]) (AFTON TOURS)
1 - NY ([redacted]) (TRACING OF AMERICAN MONEY USED BY SOVIETS)
1 - NY (100-[redacted]) (RM)

MJO:mfm
(8)

100-428091-

NOT RECORDED
172 OCT 30 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-63-[redacted]

NY 100-7-200

PUBLISHERS NEWS PRESS, INC.

On 3/21/64, a deposit of $3,120.00, was made to the account of the Committee For A Free Press (bank account of captioned organization) at the First National City Bank, 399 5th Avenue, NYC. The deposit consisted of 120 twenty dollar bills, 12 ten dollar bills, in addition to five and one dollar bills.

120 of the twenty dollar bills were identical with those received by NY [illegible] from the Soviets on 3/17/64.

One twenty dollar bill was identical with one of a number of bills received by NY [illegible]* from the Soviets on 3/13/64.

On 3/1/64, a deposit was made to the account, totalling $3,000.00 and consisting of 150 twenty dollar bills.

137 of these bills were identical to money received by NY [illegible]* from the Soviets on 3/17/64.

On 3/10/64, $2,000.00 was deposited to the account, consisting of two one hundred dollar bills and 90 twenty dollar bills.

None of these bills were identical with USLO money.

On 3/24/64, $3,150.00 was deposited to the account, consisting of 3 fifty dollar bills, 100 ten dollar bills and 150 twenty dollar bills.

27of the twenty dollar bills were identical to money received by NY [illegible]* from the Soviets on 3/17/64.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Belmont
1 - Sullivan
1 - Branigan

November 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

Solo

1 - Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Shaw

Honorable Dean Rusk
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

11-3-64 delivered by hand

Dear Mr. Rusk:

My memorandum dated October 27, 1964, captioned "Soviet Personnel Intelligence Activities" furnished information to you concerning the recent political upheaval in the Soviet Union which resulted in the removal of former Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev from power.

Material contained in the enclosed memorandum, supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, sets forth the version of Khrushchev's removal which was furnished to the Communist Party, USA, by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is noted that the version of Khrushchev's removal furnished to the Communist Party, USA, differs materially from that set forth in my memorandum of October 27, 1964, which contained information supplied by a different source.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, we have classified this communication and its enclosure "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

REC-66 100-428091 — 4270

Enclosure

EX-117

18 NOV 3 1964

100-428091

WGS:pdb
(8)

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson
Belmont
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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

65 NOV 6 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI
NOV 2 10 26 AM '64

Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect his identity. See New York teletype 10-30-64, captioned "Solo, IS - C," and memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," dated 11-1-64, prepared by WGS:pdb.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

The Acting Attorney General

November 3, 1964
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Solo

The following information, supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has recently advised the Communist Party, USA, that the meeting of the Editorial Commission to prepare for a conference of world communist parties will take place in Moscow, Russia, on December 15, 1964, as originally planned. The Soviets in the near future will circulate a letter to twenty-six fraternal parties requesting their views on the method of conducting the meeting of the Editorial Commission. The Soviets will suggest that the first session be of short duration, possibly three or four days. This will be followed by a recess of a month or two for Party consultations. A second short session will then take place followed by another recess of a month or more, prior to convening the third and final session. It is not anticipated that the world conference of communist parties will be held prior to the late Summer of 1965.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, we have classified this communication "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other officials of the Government.

100-428091

REC-66 100-428091-4271

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

18 NOV 3 1964

WGS:pah
(9)

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MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

65 NOV 6 1964

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAILED 3
NOV - 3 1964
FBI

GROUPED DECLASSIFIED
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

The Acting Attorney General

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect his identity. See New York teletype 10/30/64, captioned "Solo, IS - C," and memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," dated 11/2/64, prepared by WGS:pah.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637-A) 10/29/64

Director, FBI (100-428091)-4272 1 - Mr. Shaw

SOLO REC. 66
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 10/22/64.

Relet states that your office has completed its processing of the $300,000 that NY 694-S* received from the Soviets on 8/5/64. However, NY 694-S* has requested that your office retain possession of this money until CG 5824-S* returns from his current Solo mission in order that these funds will not become "tied up" in the event anything happens to NY 694-S* while CG 5824-S* is out of the country.

The Bureau has no objection to the above course of action requested by NY 694-S* in view of the fact that your office maintains these funds in a bank vault and assures full security in this operation. However, as soon as CG 5824-S* returns from this current Solo mission appropriate steps are to be taken to return the $300,000 to NY 694-S* for safekeeping in informant's vault.

WGS:pah
(4)

MAILED 4
OCT 28 1964
COMM-FBI

NOTE:
When NY 694-S* receives funds from the Soviets, the New York Office records the serial number and has a representative portion of these funds checked by Secret Service for possible counterfeit bills. The request by NY 694-S* that New York retain possession of the $300,000 until CG 5824-S* returns from his current Solo mission is in accordance with procedure followed during previous Solo missions.

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65 NOV 6 1964

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 10/22/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637A)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

ReNYairtel dated 8/6/64 advising receipt by NY 694-S* of $300,000.00 from the Soviets on 8/5/64.

The aforementioned money was transferred by NY 694-S* to the NYO for processing in September, 1964. The processing has been completed and it was contemplated to return the money to NY 694-S* for safekeeping in his vault. However, NY 694-S* has requested that the NYO retain this money in its vault until CG 5824-S* returns from his current trip abroad. NY 694-S* states he is making this request because in the event anything happens to him while CG 5824-S* is abroad the operation funds, therefore, will not be completely "tied up."

REC. 66
100-428091-4272

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - NY 134-91-INV. (#41)
1 - NY 100-134637A (#41)

JDO:IM
(4)

11-3
11 OCT 29 1964

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

1 - Belmont
1 - Sullivan
November 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Branigan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Shaw

Solo

11-3-64 delivered OHR

REC'D-READING ROOM FBI NOV 2 1 43 PM '64

Honorable Dean Rusk
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rusk:

We have learned from a source which has furnished reliable information in the past that a Soviet official in the United States recently furnished the following information to Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA.

On October 28, 1964, Chinese Premier CHOU En-lai summoned the Soviet Ambassador to China and told the Ambassador that the Chinese have always desired unity with the Soviets. CHOU suggested that a Chinese delegation be invited to attend the November 7th celebration of the Russian Revolution in Moscow. CHOU indicated that if the Soviets agreed to this suggestion, he personally would head the Chinese delegation. CHOU further suggested that all satellite countries be advised of the Soviets' invitation to the Chinese and that delegations from all satellite countries, except Yugoslavia, be invited to the celebration. CHOU also stated that if the satellite countries deemed it unwise to invite the Chinese to the November 7th celebration, the Soviets should invite a Chinese delegation to the Soviet Union as soon thereafter as possible.

100-428091-4273

Ex. 117

REC 66

16 NOV 3 1964

100-428091

WGS:pdb
(8)

~~TOP SECRET~~
Group 1
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

Tolson
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Sullivan
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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

65 NOV 6 1964 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Dean Rusk

The Soviets have advised all satellite countries as requested by CHOU, and all agreed that a Chinese delegation should be invited to attend the November 7th celebration in Moscow. As a result the Soviets have formally invited the Chinese to attend the celebration. The Soviets consider this to be the first step in re-establishing unity with the Chinese, and have indicated they will do everything consistent with the Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960 to make peace with the Chinese.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, we have classified this communication "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 694-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. See New York teletype 10-31-64, captioned "Solo, IS - C," and memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," dated 11-2-64, prepared by WGS:pah.

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Belmont
1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan

November 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

1 - Branigan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Shaw

Honorable Bill D. Moyers
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Sold

Dear Mr. Moyers:

My memorandum dated October 27, 1964, captioned "Soviet Personnel Intelligence Activities" furnished information to you concerning the recent political upheaval in the Soviet Union which resulted in the removal of former Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev from power.

Material contained in the enclosed memorandum, supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, sets forth the version of Khrushchev's removal which was furnished to the Communist Party, USA, by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is noted that the version of Khrushchev's removal furnished to the Communist Party, USA, differs materially from that set forth in my memorandum of October 27, 1964, which contained information supplied by a different source.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, we have classified this communication and its enclosure "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other officials of the Government.

100-428091-4274

EX-117 REC-6

Sincerely yours,

18 NOV 3 1964

Enclosure

100-428091

WGS:pdb
(8)

Tolson
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~~SECRET~~

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Bill D. Moyers

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect his identity. See New York teletype 10-30-64, captioned "Solo, IS - C," and memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," dated 11-1-64, prepared by WGS:pdb.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

November 3, 1964

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw
1 - Liaison

Honorable Dean Rusk
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rusk: Solo

11/4/64 delivered OSS

The following information, supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has recently advised the Communist Party, USA, that the meeting of the Editorial Commission to prepare for a conference of world communist parties will take place in Moscow, Russia, on December 15, 1964, as originally planned. The Soviets in the near future will circulate a letter to twenty-six fraternal parties requesting their views on the method of conducting the meeting of the Editorial Commission. The Soviets will suggest that the first session be of short duration, possibly three or four days. This will be followed by a recess of a month or two for Party consultations. A second short session will then take place followed by another recess of a month or more, prior to convening the third and final session. It is not anticipated that the world conference of communist parties will be held prior to the late Summer of 1965.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, we have classified this communication "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other officials of the Government.

REC-42 100-428091-4275

Sincerely yours,

100-428091 SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED

EX-103

18 NOV 4 1964

FBI - DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

WGS:pah (7)

Tolson
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Tele. Room
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65 NOV 9 1964 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI
NOV 3 10 57 AM '64

Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect his identity. See New York teletype 10/30/64, captioned "Solo, IS - C," and memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," dated 11/2/64, prepared by WGS:pah.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr .Sullivan

November 3, 1964

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

Honorable Bill D. Moyers
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

The following information, supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has recently advised the Communist Party, USA, that the meeting of the Editorial Commission to prepare for a conference of world communist parties will take place in Moscow, Russia, on December 15, 1964, as originally planned. The Soviets in the near future will circulate a letter to twenty-six fraternal parties requesting their views on the method of conducting the meeting of the Editorial Commission. The Soviets will suggest that the first session be of short duration, possibly three or four days. This will be followed by a recess of a month or two for Party consultations. A second short session will then take place followed by another recess of a month or more, prior to convening the third and final session. It is not anticipated that the world conference of communist parties will be held prior to the late Summer of 1965.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, we have classified this communication "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to other officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

Tolson
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DeLoach
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100-428091
WGS:pah (7)

~~TOP SECRET~~
Group 1
~~Excluded~~ from automatic downgrading and declassification

67 NOV 10 1964

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Bill D. Moyers

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect his identity. See New York teletype 10/30/64, captioned "Solo, IS - C," and memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," dated 11/2/64, prepared by WGS:pah.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
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Casper
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Sullivan
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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/29/64

FROM : J. A. Sizoo

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The Bureau's informant in this case, Chicago 5824-S*, left New York on 10/19/64 for a SOLO trip to Soviet Russia to represent the Communist Party, USA in discussions with the Soviets. He was specifically instructed by Gus Hall to attempt to determine the inside story concerning the recent political upheaval in the Soviet Union which involved the removal of Nikita Khrushchev. He was instructed by Hall that if important information in this connection was obtained, he should return to the States immediately to brief Hall in order that Hall could properly present the Soviet position in this matter. We told the informant to comply with these instructions in order that we could have immediately the benefit of any information he should develop in this connection in Russia.

We received a message through our clandestine system of communications from the informant to Hall yesterday in which the informant stated that he would be returning to New York within two days for a conference with Hall. A further communication was received this morning indicating that Chicago 5824-S* is now in Paris and is seeking plane reservations to New York. He expects to arrive in New York tonight.

The Chicago Office requested authority to send Special Agents Richard W. Hansen and Walter A. Boyle, who are the contacting Agents who deal with Chicago 5824-S*, to New York in order that he may be debriefed for such information as he may have developed. It appears that the informant did not bring his wife back with him on this trip since no mention is made of her. She apparently remained in Russia, which suggests that the informant will be in the States only a few days and will then return to Moscow to continue his discussions with the Soviets.

In view of the likelihood that the informant would have information of interest, it was considered desirable to have the Agents who have been contacting him meet him in New York tonight.

JAS:mls (7)
1-Mr. Belmont; 1-Mr. Sullivan;
1-Mr. Baumgardner; 1-Mr. Shaw;
1-Mr. Donohue; 1-Mr. M. F. Rov

EX-102
REC-55 100-428091-4278

18 NOV 4 1964

(CONTINUED - OVER)

65 NOV 9 1964

Memo to Mr. Sullivan
RE: SOLO; IS-C

Chicago also requested authority to advance the informant $1,500 travel and other miscellaneous expenses to cover this round trip to the States.

ACTION:

Chicago was authorized to send the two Agents to New York as requested and also to expend $1,500 as indicated above. The Bureau will be immediately provided a summary of the information developed by the informant after he has been debriefed.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 1 1964

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

PM URGENT 11-1-64 JFK

TO DIRECTOR, -2- FBI /100-428091/

FROM SAC, NEW YORK /100-134637/ 2P

SUBJECT., SOLO

~~IS-C~~ INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

LATE ON EVENING TEN THIRTY ONE SIXTY FOUR, ~~NY SIX NINE FOUR~~ NY 694-S WAS TOLD FOLLOWING BY SOVIET CONTACT V. CHUCHUKIN WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO TRANSMIT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO GUS HALL. ~~CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR~~ CG 5824-S ~~DASH S~~ AT MOMENT TRANSMITTING INFORMATION TO HALL..

ON OCTOBER TWENTY EIGHT, CHOU CHOU EN LAI, CHINESE PREMIER SUMMONED SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO CHINA AND TOLD LATTER VERY CORDIALLY CHINESE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT ALWAYS WANTED UNITY WITH THE SOVIETS. SUGGESTED SOVIET AMBASSADOR TELL HIS GOVERNMENT AND CPSU* THAT CHINESE DELEGATION SHOULD BE INVITED TO ATTEND NOVEMBER SEVEN CELEBRATION OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION IN MOSCOW. SAID IF SOVIETS AGREE TO

REC- 55/00-428091-4279

18 NOV 4 1964

*Communist Party of Soviet Union

END PAGE ONE

EX-102

memo to Sullivan 11/2/64 re CG 1064-S - Lets to White House, SAG, DAG State & CIA 11/2/64

SUGGESTION, CHOU EN LAI HIMSELF WOULD HEAD THE CHINESE DELEGATION. CHOU EN LAI SUGGESTED ALL SATELLITES BE ADVISED OF SOVIET INVITATION TO CHINESE, AND THAT DELEGATIONS FROM ALL SATELLITES EXCEPT YUGOSLAVIA BE INVITED TO CELEBRATION. CHOU EN LAI SAID IF SATELLITES FELT IT WISE NOT TO INVITE CHINESE TO NOVEMBER SEVEN CELEBRATION, THE SOVIETS SHOULD INVITE CHINESE DELEGATION TO GO TO SOVIET UNION AS SOON THEREAFTER AS POSSIBLE.

SOVIETS HAVE ADVISED ALL SATELLITES AS REQUESTED BY CHOU EN LAI, AND ALL AGREED CHINESE SHOULD BE INVITED NOVEMBER SEVEN CELEBRATION. INVITATION HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO CHINESE AS PROPOSED. SOVIETS CONSIDER THIS FIRST STEP IN RE-ESTABLISHING THE UNITY WITH CHINESE. SOVIETS WILL DO EVERYTHING CONSISTENT WITH MOSCOW CONFERENCES OF NINETEEN FIFTY SEVEN AND NINETEEN SIXTY TO MAKE PEACE WITH CHINESE.

CHUCHUKIN MENTIONED THAT ABOVE INFORMATION IS ~~QUOTE~~ "REAL SECRET" ~~UNQUOTE~~ AT THIS TIME.

END 9

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cc – Mr. Reddy